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Article Notes High U.S. Interest in Nano Case

AU2407133295 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 23 Jul 95 p 3

[Article by T. Cela: "Nano's File in Clinton's Anteroom"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Nano file has reached as far as the premises of the White House in Washington. A visit to the United States by a Socialist deputy a short time ago led to a meeting between him and Shifter, a special adviser to President Clinton and a National Security Council adviser at the White House. It has been discovered that the deputy involved was Angjeli, who devoted considerable time to informing Mr. Shifter about the imprisonment of the chairman of his party. But Shifter too expressed interest in the case of the imprisoned Socialist leader. "Is Nano a liberal?" "Is Nano a democrat?" "Do you have documentation of his case?" These were some of the adviser's questions for the Socialist deputy, who did not omit to deliver to Mr. Shifter a file with the decisions and resolutions of international organizations connected with the Nano case, including those of the World Interparliamentary Union, the European Parliament, etc.

Meanwhile President Clinton's adviser asked the Socialist deputy for material from the Nano file, especially the charges against the Socialist leader, the verdicts of all the trials that have taken place, and the defenses mounted by Nano and his attorneys. All these were handed over to Shifter. Asked by us to comment further, Angjeli said, "They do not talk, but judge and act."

Thus, at a time when Nano is confronting the Albanian courts more fiercely than ever, his file is in U.S. President Clinton's anteroom. In the meantime, many analysts connect such interest with Berisha's visit to the White House in September; the file of his imprisoned political opponent has gone before him. Perhaps this time Berisha, before being given a pen, will be asked to account for what has happened to the leader of the opposition in his country. The fact that the Nano case has reached the White House implies this. As Deputy Angjeli said after his return from the United States, he was asked not only about Nano's trial, but about Nano as a leader. Clinton's adviser was interested not only in breaches of the law at Nano's expense, but Nano's stature as a politician.. When Shifter asked the Socialist deputy, "Is Nano a liberal and a democrat?," it seems that he was more interested in a released Nano than in an imprisoned Nano. In the United States, people who deal with Albania are now also aware of reports like those of the Oxford Institute and the results of the Eurobarometer in connection with the next elections. They know that it is sure that the Socialists are very close to power. It is therefore normal that across the Atlantic too they will be interested in who will be the leader of the future victors.

This interest is still more justified in the context of statements by those currently in government. They have often implied that if the Socialists come to power they will be less enthusiastic about the United States and that they will not support the same defense policy or favor the same commitments to the Partnership for Peace and relations with NATO. Not more than three days ago, Defense Minister Zhulali asserted in RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE that the opposition is not very interested in the Partnership and in intensifying U.S.-Albanian military relations. One of the Socialists poured scorn on Zhulali's statement, calling it "propaganda," and continuing, "We have welcomed and will continue to welcome and strive for Albania's integration in the structures of NATO and the Partnership for Peace, both in opposition and in government."

Nano's Release Denied

AU2407133195 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 22 Jul 95 p 3

[Unattributed report: "One Year Less for Nano and Free After Two Years"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—Nano loses against the judiciary for the fifth time. Just when it seemed that he had won, and a prosecutor for the first time asked for the release of the imprisoned Socialist leader, the Appeals Court judges banished every hope. "Nano must remain in prison a further two years, 11 months, and 28 days." Even though the view prevailed for four hours in the Albanian capital and perhaps even beyond that Nano would now return home after 721 days in prison, he was yesterday forgiven only one year in the cells.

The court session yesterday started with the normal procedure, but came to an unusual end. First the decision of the Tepelene Court issued on 19 June was read, asking for Nano's release from serving any more of his sentence. Then came the lawyers' presentations. Then there was the moment that Sanxhaku and Tirana [Nano's defense lawyers] had been fearing: The prosecutor prepared to present his case. However, strangely, before he started Prosecutor Demiri left the courtroom for a moment, quietly explaining that he had forgotten something. Some people in the courtroom smiled and said, "He has gone to receive his final instructions." However, Prosecutor Demiri took no notice, and the remainder of the public now began to listen to what he wanted the judges to do with Nano. During his short speech, Nano's lawyers kept their hopes high, perhaps because the prosecutor called most of their demands

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fair. Although the decision of the Tepelene Court was declared to be erroneous, Nano's crime was reclassified and the prosecutor called for a milder sentence than that given by the Tirana Court in the first trial of 3 April 1994. Only the calculations remained, and Prosecutor Demiri made Nano's lawyers smile again. "Nano's request is in general fair and legally well founded," the prosecutor added, as he asked for two different sentences against the Socialist Party leader. According to him, Nano by yesterday had served nine days less than two years; the four months and 28 days he gained from the new Penal Code because of his time on remand, his three years, six months, and 21 days gained from the amnesty of 24 November 1994, and another two years under Berisha's decree of 20 March 1995 all added together reduce Nano's sentence by seven years, 11 months, and 12 days.. By asking for Nano to be resentenced to seven years and six months, the argument went that he must be released immediately from serving any further sentence. At this point there was applause in the courtroom, and the judges withdrew, asking for only ten minutes before they returned again to the courtroom, this time to bring the case to an end.

Lawyer Sanxhaku announced enthusiastically that "Prosecutor Demiri's step is a sign that our judiciary is moving toward independence," adding that normally judges will agree if the attorneys and the prosecutor are of one mind. Nevertheless, the bench of judges returned to the court after 10 minutes only to announce that they would give their decision at 1600. For Sanxhaku, Tirana, and perhaps their client the hours of waiting were filled with hope as never before. However, that was all, because the Appeals Court decided to reverse the decision of the Tepelene Court, and Nano's sentence of 11 years' imprisonment obliges him to remain behind bars for a further two years, 11 months, and 28 days. "This is a game," Sanxhaku commented after the decision. "The fact that the police imposed a cordon at 1400 showed that the result would be negative. So did the delay in issuing the decision. In the morning, they promised a decision in 10 minutes and then postponed it for five hours. Somebody put in their oar." Prosecutor Demiri also reacted to Judge Qato's decision, saying that "If I had called for a punishment that was against the law, the rage of all those who aspire to justice would have fallen on me. There are two sides to the coin, that must not be forgotten."

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Assembly Limits President's Military Powers

AU2407184095 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 20 Jul 95 p 3

[Report by Yovka Dimitrova on second reading of defense and armed forces bill in National Assembly on 19 July: "Zhelev Will Declare War Only When Parliament Is Not Sitting"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The National Assembly deputies decided yesterday that the president will not approve the new structure of the Army or the mobilization and organizational plans of the Armed Forces.

General of the Reserve Lyuben Petrov proposed that the supreme commander in chief be relieved of these duties. "Under the Constitution, the disposition and leadership of the Army are matters for the government, and the president cannot interfere," explained the former chief of the General Staff, who is now a deputy of the Bulgarian Socialist Party.

The head of state was also denied access to information from the various services of the Armed Forces .

Zhelyu Zhelev will declare mobilization, raise the troops to a higher level of combat readiness, appoint and dismiss top military officers, and award officers. When the National Assembly is on vacation, the president will declare war or any other state of emergency. However, the supreme commander in chief will have to take the advice of the Bulgarian parliament.

The National Assembly deputies will declare war, a state of hostilities, and a state of emergency, and will conclude peace.

Only the Bulgarian parliament will decide whether Bulgarians will wage war abroad and join foreign troops for exercises. The deputies will also have the last word in allowing foreign units to visit Bulgaria.

Parliament also determines the strength of the Army.

Sponsorship and economic activities in the Armed Forces will be regulated by a separate law.

The Army acquired the right to sell surplus property and equipment itself, under a procedure established by the Council of Ministers. The deputies rejected the proposal that the government hospital be financed from the Army budget.

Officials, FRY's Savovic Discuss Minority Rights

AU2407201595 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 24 Jul 95

[Report by Vladislav Stoychev from studio]

[FBIS Translated Text] Today, Professor Margit Savovic, minister for human rights and minorities in the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] Government, met with Deputy Prime Minister Svetoslav Shivarov, Education Minister Ilcho Dimitrov, Foreign Minister Georgi Pirinski, Emiliya Maslarova, National Assembly Chairman Blagovest Sendov, and the Parliamentary Foreign Policy and Human Rights Commissions.

Mrs. Savovic and Shivarov expressed satisfaction with their first meeting and expect to meet again in two days.

At the meeting with Georgi Pirinski, the two discussed three problems areas: the Yugoslav crisis, bilateral cooperation, and the Bulgarian minority in the Western Outlands [in eastern Serbia]. According to Mrs. Savovic, the problems relating to the minority were defined and they will be examined by the Yugoslav Government as an element in bilateral relations.

At the meetings in parliament, which ended a short time ago, Professor Velko Vulkanov presented the facts, well known in Bulgaria, regarding the position of the Bulgarian minority. Mrs. Savovic expounded the position of the Yugoslav Government, stressing the written constitutional and legal guarantees for the rights of the minorities. Vasil Gotsev of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] and other deputies from various parliamentary groups asked specific questions regarding the position of the Bulgarians in the Western Outlands.

SDS Refuses To Meet Savovic

AU2407201395 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 24 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] This morning Deputy Prime Minister Svetoslav Shivarov met with Professor Margit Savovic, a minister in the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] Government. Mrs. Savovic expressed satisfaction with the start of her talks in Bulgaria. She said that both sides had expressed goodwill for the development of cooperation in various fields. According to Shivarov, the Yugoslav side assesses positively the Bulgarian position on Balkan problems and the Yugoslav crisis. This information was provided by our reporter Vladislav Stoychev.

In connection with Mrs. Savovic's visit, we have received the following announcement from the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS].

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The SDS Press Center is authorized to issue the following statement by Filip Dimitrov concerning the forthcoming meeting of Mrs. Margit Savovic, minister without portfolio for human rights and minorities in the FRY Government, with the Foreign Policy Commission of the Bulgarian parliament, which is due to take place at 1700 [1400 GMT] today in the National Assembly building:

I will not meet with the human rights minister of a state that grossly violates these rights, that supports the aggression in Bosnia, and because of this is under an embargo imposed by the international community. I regard the reception of Mrs. Savovic in Bulgaria as cynicism, especially today, when the horrors of mass murders, rapes, and inhuman treatment in Srebrenica and Zepa are (?shocking) the world.

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FRG's Scharping Views European Integration

AU2507113395 Prague TYDEN in Czech 17 Jul 95 No 29 pp 28-31

[Interview with Rudolf Scharping, chairman of the German SPD, by Josef Vesely in Prague on 7 July: "Various Staircases Leading to Europe"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 7 July 1995, Rudolf Scharping, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) and at the same time a leading representative of the supranational European Socialist Party, spent several hours in Prague. Before he granted an interview to TYDEN—exclusively among the Czech media—he applied himself to a delicate mission, whose goal was to improve the Czech-German relationship.

He met in Prague with the foreign minister, the prime minister, and the president for confidential talks. After these, speaking on behalf of the SPD, he called for both a rapid closure of the tragic chapters of common history and unconditional compensation for Czech victims of Nazism. He endorsed the establishment of a foundation aimed at the future. The solution to the problems accumulated in Czech-German relations is, according to him, a "matter of weeks and months." Even after his visit, however, it is not clear who will be the chief engineer of the definitive change away from the past and toward the future. Will it be the parliaments, as a substantial proportion of Czech politicians wish? Or, rather, the governments, which corresponds to the reality of Bonn's policy, where the key to this trunk is firmly held by the federal chancellor?

"We are pushing for the Czech Republic's integration into the EU and NATO as quickly as possible. It will take a while longer. The time is ripe, however, for a positive change in bilateral relations," Rudolf Scharping says. "Although whoever wants to look into the future should not forget the experience of the past; nevertheless, this must not stop our dialogue. After all, there is a lot of work for us in the European context anyway."

[Vesely] Mr. Chairman, an era is ending in Europe that was marked by two politicians of social-democratic persuasion: Francois Mitterrand and Jacques Delors. The French president and the chairman of the European Commission together with Christian Democratic Chancellor Kohl have codetermined the pace of integration for more than 10 years. This pace is now slowing down. In your opinion, what era is beginning on our continent now?

[Scharping] I would not be so dramatic in assessing that two great social democrats have left European politics. After all, social democracy has always been able to provide the heads of governments after democratic elections in seven of the 15 EU member countries. Moreover, as soon as it comes to voting in Portugal and Great Britain, nine out of 15 EU member countries might be "in the hands" of social democracy.

[Vesely] What do you believe Europe will look like in 15 years?

[Scharping] I have a really clear idea of it. I visualize a developing continent showing great promise, where young people have access to education and old people have work. I see a Europe where everyone can live safely in his native land. It is a region of the world that has learned something of its own mistakes and tragic failings, such as the indecisive approach, for instance, to the tragic conflict in former Yugoslavia.

I see clearly such a future Europe, where Prague, Warsaw, and Budapest, from where I just arrived, like many other East European cities and countries, will belong to our European family not only by their culture and architecture but also by their political culture. I also imagine this continent as an economically strong, competitive region of the world, consisting of humane societies of citizens showing solidarity.

[Vesely] Before visiting Warsaw, Federal Chancellor Kohl said that countries such as Poland should join the EU and NATO at the same time. Do you agree with this view?

[Scharping] I believe that some countries of Central and East Europe could join NATO rather soon. I am convinced that a fundamental decision on this matter will be made at the end of 1996 or in the spring of 1997. Of course, the overall European security architecture must be taken into consideration.

For German social democracy, I can say with certainty that the SPD will fully respect and support the clearly stated will of the countries in the eastern part of Central Europe to belong firmly to the Western community and its defense alliance.

Of course, as for EU membership, it will be necessary to prepare "made-to-measure" differentiated time schedules separately for each country. I would compare it to staircases with different steepness, a different distance between the stairs, and of a different length for each candidate.

The EU must be ready for expansion as specified at the Copenhagen summit in June 1993. I also consider it a matter of course that the countries of the eastern part of Central Europe must be able to join the EU. In my opinion, this means that their national economies must advance and that they can be preparing for it now, step

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by step. For this very reason, I am a realist as far as EU expansion is concerned.

[Vesely] Some Poles have perceived Kohl's words as a disappointment: According to them, one could join NATO earlier and more easily, while joining the EU will require the fulfillment of numerous conditions. Could this subtle hint be interpreted as a step backwards?

[Scharping] It is not a matter of opinion. These are hard facts. What I said really could be interpreted so that the complete integration into the EU of a country like Poland would certainly require more time than its full integration into NATO. A similar conclusion applies to other candidates.

[Vesely] The United States would play a major role in the expansion of the North Atlantic alliance. What experience does Germany have with its transatlantic ally?

[Scharping] I am very emphatically in favor of the United States' continuing involvement in Europe. We need to obtain within NATO a general agreement—a consensus—for the expansion of the alliance eastward. The U.S. position will be of the utmost importance in obtaining this consensus. Incidentally, the favorable view on the part of the Federal Republic of Germany will play just as important a role.

[Vesely] New tones emerged in Europe with the new French president, Jacques Chirac. The "grande nation" is again beginning to test its nuclear weapons.

[Scharping] I consider the decision of the French president to resume nuclear arms testing an unequivocally bad step. It burdens the international atmosphere and further complicates the already complex talks on the extension of the worldwide ban on the proliferation of nuclear arms. At the same time, it brings a great danger to the environment.

[Vesely] The reaction of the citizens on the other bank of the Rhine are even more radical. Following the decision by Paris to resume the nuclear tests, demands emerged in a part of the German public to boycott French cognac, Peugeot and Renault cars, and other goods.

[Scharping] Such calls are always heard when citizens believe that their critical comments are of no consequence. Who knows? We may even experience aberrant reactions that are hardly European in style.

The people in Germany, however, and other states of Western Europe have had a new experience of how even a large international concern (Shell) can be forced not to sink depreciated mining equipment indiscriminately in the North Sea. This encourages citizens to attempt such actions again. I do not see anything wrong in principle with this.

[Vesely] Would you agree that the Franco-German "locomotive of European unification" has recently begun to "break down"?

[Scharping] I myself do not believe that there would be any threat of this "locomotive" immediately breaking down or coming to a standstill.

[Vesely] At least psychologically, however, the "Europe of native lands" concept, which also corresponds to the British conservative ideas, has strengthened within the EU following the accession of the Gaullist Chirac.

[Scharping] You know, in political reality, many things are in fact much more differentiated than mere words would indicate.

[Vesely] Let us return to the future of the Czech Republic in Europe. Will our small country lose its hard-gained sovereignty, or will it gain some new joint sovereignty within the framework of the EU?

[Scharping] Whether a country is small or large is not at all decided by its area but, rather, by its value. European integration thus far, in which the Western countries could take part and the Eastern ones could not, has brought one fantastic experience to us in Germany: The nations and their states have a remarkable ability to learn politically. Everything that has successfully grown together in Europe to date is a result of a wise and responsible evaluation of the traumatic experience from the first half of this century.

All of the participants have benefited: They have gained peace and security, economic strength, and new social and cultural possibilities. We want to do everything in our power to enable others to take part in this success. The Czech Republic and others that are to join the EU will also benefit.

[Vesely] Would you agree that the growing doubts regarding the future development of European integration will also strengthen conservative politicians of the type of Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus?

[Scharping] I am aware of your prime minister's fondness for ardently talking about the market economy without any adjectives. No responsible politician can, however, leave outside his sphere of attention everything of a human, social, or cultural nature.

The Czech Republic has made great progress in the transformation. If I can judge it from outside, however, in the future it must pay just as careful attention to see that a certain balance is in place here in future years and that society maintains its social coherence.

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RDP Group Marks First Marketing Success

AU2407180995 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 20 Jul 95 p 2

[Article by "km": "After Two Years of Existence, the RDP Group Signed Its First Large Contract"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The RDP Group arms manufacturers consortium, which has struggled for survival ever since its foundation two years ago, managed recently to sign a large deal that will help the domestic arms industry.

The company signed a contract to supply several dozen million korunas worth of special radar hardware to the Republic of Lithuania.

The entire airspace over Lithuania will be controlled by the Gatracs computer system, which processes and evaluates data of military and civilian radars. The system is manufactured by Radas Ltd. of Brno. So far, the system has been used at the airports in Vodochody, Ostrava, and Karlovy Vary.

The representatives of the Brno firm refused to specify the purchase price of this computer system or the reason the RDP Group was chosen for the deal.

"We also had offers from other firms that wanted to sell us Gatracs, but we bet on the RDP Group. I will not tell you why we decided to opt for the RDP Group," one of the Radas employees told us. The firm is not an RDP Group shareholder.

The arms manufacturers consortium, upon its organization promised, among other things, to coordinate the domestic military hardware production and sell arms abroad, while early last year, the Group was in danger of not obtaining the license to trade in materiel. The authorities did not want to issue the permit because of its dubious contacts with Iran.

According to the available information, this company, on which almost 40 shareholder firms depend in their armament operation, has had only a single minor success to its credit in the form of the export to the Slovak Republic of stampings for the ammunition production.

Transport of Spent Nuclear Fuel From Slovakia

AU2507084395 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 22 Jul 95 p 3

[Article by Pavel Baroch and Jaroslav Curik: "The CEZ Has Begun To Transfer Spent Nuclear Fuel From Slovakia"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Prague—With exceptional security measures, the Czech Power Generating Works [CEZ] has begun gradually to transport the more than 140 metric tons of spent nuclear fuel from the Slovak Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear power plant to Dukovany in southern Moravia. The transport of the highly radioactive material is such a momentous undertaking that the Security Information Service is taking part. [passage omitted]

Ladislav Stepanek of CEZ pointed out that the first train with the radioactive cargo has already arrived in Dukovany. According to CEZ employees, the transport took place calmly and safely because the public did not know about it. [passage omitted]

The entire route traveled by the radioactive waste is checked several times by the security corps, including explosives experts. The final check of the track is done just before the train passes. An empty train precedes the cargo train to make certain that there is no last minute obstacle or failure.

According to Stepanek, the police have identified all risk spots—like cuttings or bridges—and guard them. Policemen also board the train. In addition, a police helicopter circles overhead. [passage omitted]

The check at the Slovak-Czech border includes a dosimetric test to ascertain that there is no radioactive leak. [passage omitted]

According to Stepanek, the transport of the spent fuel from Jaslovske Bohunice to Dukovany will continue in stages until 1997.

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Minority Leader Notes U.S. Embassy Statement

AU2407185095 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 21 Jul 95 p 2

[TASR report in the "Parties and Movements" column]

[FBIS Translated Text] "The Slovak mass media reported on the results of the visit to the United States by representatives of the Hungarian Coalition parties very well, just as they had been outlined at a press briefing on Tuesday, 18 July." This statement was made by Laszlo Nagy at a Hungarian Civic Party [MOS] press briefing held in Bratislava yesterday. He was reacting to the statement released yesterday by the U.S. Embassy. According to the MOS chairman, the U.S. Embassy relied only on the view expressed by the daily SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA.

'Dangerous Confrontation' Possible Over Ethnic Issue

AU2507081695 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 20 Jul 95 p 3

[Commentary by Viera Urbanova: "A Mission of Discord and Instability"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The leaders of the three Hungarian parties in Slovakia have returned in triumph from across the ocean. According to one of them, Miklos Duray, they were in the United States to defend the interests of the Slovak Republic and of the entire Central European region. They were there at the invitation of the New York-based Hungarian Foundation for Human Rights. For the leader of the extremist Coexistence [Egyutteles] movement to dare to say that he was there to defend the Slovak Republic is the height of demagoguery and Pharisaism. The policy so far of all three entities representing the Hungarian minority, whether on a domestic or a foreign platform, cannot, even with the best will, be considered pro-Slovak. Rather, the opposite is the case. The conclusions reached by the Komarno Assembly in 1994 were indicative of the course that the Hungarian protagonists intended to pursue. And, this is an unacceptable course for any sovereign Slovak government.

The Hungarian missionaries' promotion of the Moravcik government, which, unlike Meciar's, is apparently recognized in the United States, is merely a consequence of developments since last March. In return for their support, the Moravcik coalition had to promise the Durayites everything contained in the Komarno appeal. It not only promised everything, but also began to accomplish it enthusiastically. At the top of all the demands, concealed under talk about a suppressed Hungarian minority, is territorial autonomy. The visit—influential Hungarian (Soros) financial circles were behind it—was turned into a mission almost at a senior political level. Moreover, it was well timed. The speech made by Soros in Crans Montana and the whipping up of unrest in southern Slovakia, under the pretext of the plan for alternative education, also fit in with it. According to this scenario, the impression should be given that human rights are being violated in Slovakia, that democracy is in danger, and that the ethnic minorities are being severely discriminated against.

With regard to the traveling ambassadors' assertion that U.S. senators (not, by chance, senators like Lantos, a politician of Hungarian origin?) and the president's close advisers (how close?) are alarmed about developments in Slovakia and that Slovakia is in danger of an involuntary departure from the Visegrad Group or the Partnership for Peace project, suffice it to say: Be specific, gentlemen, be specific. After all, it is impossible to broadcast information and make accusations containing such a huge political charge by referring to anonymous individuals. Such interpretations can only complicate relations between countries.

The whole event, controlled from behind the scenes by those whose major "investment" plans in Slovakia have been downright scuppered by the current governing coalition's new privatization method, is a sign that moves are being made in the main opposition camp. The threats that tougher steps will be taken across the pond in the fall to ensure that democracy is preserved in our country confirm this. The representatives of U.S. diplomacy should express their views on this because the issue here no longer just involves parochial Hungarian dreams and visions. A foreign country has been drawn into undermining the stability of the Slovak Republic. And I doubt that this is with the agreement of its most senior officials.

The policy of the Hungarian coalition, cooperating closely with part of the opposition, may drag not only Slovakia but also the whole of the Central European region into a dangerous confrontation. Bugar, Duray, and Nagy know this. The Moravcikites know it. Soros knows it... And the president? Does he know but will not say?

Meciar Visits Trencin, Discusses Arms Company

AU2507084495 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 21 Jul 95 p 2

[TASR report: "The Arms Industry: Smaller but on a Higher Level"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Trencin—Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar arrived in Trencin yesterday on a

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one-day visit, accompanied by Economy Minister Ducky, Defense Minister Sitek, Deputy J. Rea of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, and J. Toth. The aim of the visit was to discuss the options for the activity of the holding company planned to coordinate the production of special technology in the Slovak Republic. Its core should consist of 11 state enterprises, hitherto managed by the Defense Ministry, of which seven are repair shops. "Our mechanical engineering has been making a loss for several years. It amounted to 2.5 billion korunas [Sk] last year; at the same time, it is the supporting branch of Slovak industry," Meciar said in this context. "If the industry is to be revitalized, it must be done on the technologically higher levels, but not in its entirety. Conversion is being carried out chaotically and is uncoordinated. Therefore, we need to reduce the range of goods produced and orient ourselves more toward final products," the prime minister emphasized. In his view, it is anticipated that the engineering industry will cease to make a loss this year and should make a profit of at least Sk3 billion in 1996. Meciar then viewed several facilities in Trencin that have been proposed as the site for the holding company, whose president is supposed to be Toth. In another part of the program for his working visit, Meciar visited the Konstrukta Defense state enterprise and the ZTS [Heavy Machine Tool Enterprises] and ZVS [General Engineering Plants] state enterprises in Dubnica nad Vahom and held talks with the directors of the enterprises preparing to enter into the holding company.

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Daily Recommends 'Political Realism' With Romania

AU2507084295 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 22 Jul 95 p 3

[Editorial by Pal Lederer: "Political Realism"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The fact that Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs's day-and-a-half visit to Bucharest and talks with Romanian leaders did not bring about a breakthrough on the issue of the Hungarian-Romanian basic treaty came as no surprise to anyone. The gulf, which in diplomatic language is called difference of views, between the two sides is so deep that high-level meetings such as this one cannot bridge it, either with Bucharest's famous flexibility, which is meant for propaganda purposes, or with Hungarian diplomacy's obviously limited readiness to compromise. The fact that further expert talks are not being planned (or, obviously, higher level ones) suggests that the partners have realized this: However useful—for different reasons—it would be for the two countries if the document were signed, the situation is not yet ripe for this. Bucharest is still truly unwilling to ensure codified rights for the national minorities in accordance with European norms, and Budapest cannot and will not sign without this.

At the same time, though, it would be a mistake to call the Hungarian foreign minister's visit a failure. In fact, it can be termed a success in a certain sense: a success for political realism.

Kovacs says that these talks prove that bilateral relations have escaped from the basic treaty's captivity. We might add that the Hungarian minority has also been freed from it. Kovacs's message is if something cannot be done, then it should not be forced. The basic treaty certainly cannot be made just now. (Because of mutual distrust, it is impossible to sign a viable treaty that will not immediately turn into a worthless piece of paper, based on the various interpretations of it or because of the mere intention to do so.) Therefore, it is wiser to choose another way, the pragmatic road of small steps and confidence building. The Hungarian proposals on drawing up free trade, transport, and environmental agreements as soon as possible and on establishing a consular network point in this direction. If Bucharest accepts these and the sides implement them, bilateral cooperation can improve enormously. A hundred joint ventures on a firm footing are worth a thousand times more than a document signed at the highest level that has to be constantly explained by one or both sides and adherence to which constantly and scrupulously has to be checked. Similarly, a functioning consulate is worth a thousand times more than a wrangle over three consulates.

Hungary and Romania have to learn to come closer to each other and build bridges in practice. It is likely that it is only through this process that they can get to the point when one day someone will say: Why do we not have a basic treaty between the two countries? It is possible that the euro-atlantic integration organizations would welcome it if some kind of paper were signed now between Budapest and Bucharest. However, the sides directly involved in the issue appear to be starting to realize that they need truly good relations, rather than peace declared in some kind of agreement.

To look at the opposite side of the issue: In the current situation, forcing the basic treaty would probably only worsen already not so rosy relations, would add poison to the atmosphere of distrust, and would consequently make practical cooperation more difficult even in areas where willingness and interest exist on both sides. In addition, if Bucharest felt that it had signed something under coercion, it would definitely take revenge on the Hungarian minority for this.

Several European examples, such as the German-Danish one, show that, rather than as a result of two heads of states or governments signing a document in an ornate binding in ceremonial circumstances, "historical conciliation," and the normalization of the national minorities' situation results from the renewal of business relations on the two sides of the border, especially by members of the national minorities. This brings about a chain reaction relatively quickly and everything follows automatically from there. However, in spite of all this, no one claims that the basic treaty is not needed if the conditions are there.

UDMR Protests New Romanian Education Law

LD2407190895 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1600 GMT 24 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Romanian President Ion Iliescu signed the new education law today. At his international news conference this morning, he said the document was thoroughly democratic and that the arguments against the law by the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] were groundless and only incited separatism.

[Bucharest correspondent Tibor Bogdan] Hungary was also subjected to criticism. According to Iliescu, throughout its long history, Hungary has always endeavored to assimilate minorities. He rejected Hungary's attempts at interference in Romania's internal affairs through its criticisms of the Romanian education law. Hungary can teach us only one thing: the way to create equality by having everybody learn the same language, the language of the state, he said.

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Reacting to the new law, Csaba Takacs, executive chairman of the UDMR, has told Duna TV that, in addition to coordinated protest actions that will start in the autumn, the UDMR also sees as its main task the organization of alternative Hungarian education in Transylvania. Regrettably, the latter may be only a partial solution, because the new law forbids the teaching of technical subjects and taking entry examinations in the native language, he said. Takacs also stressed that the UDMR considered it to be important to prevent the emigration of young ethnic Hungarians who wanted to be educated in their native language.

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Akashi: UN Pullout Would Worsen Situation

AU2407185495 Paris AFP in English 1840 GMT 24 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Vienna, July 24 (AFP)—A withdrawal of UN peacekeepers from Bosnia would deepen the crisis in the former Yugoslav republic, UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi said here Monday [24 July]. "We are working on a draft for a withdrawal but hope that it will not have to be implemented," Akashi told a conference on armed conflicts throughout the world.

Akashi spoke as a meeting of NATO ambassadors in Brussels on the use of airstrikes in the event of a Bosnian Serb attack on the UN-declared safe haven of Gorazde was postponed until Tuesday. The decision to suspend the meeting of the NATO Council, the alliance's governing body, came after differences resurfaced between the Britain, France, and the United States over the use of NATO warplanes to deter rebel Serbs.

The United States has pushed for an accord which would sharply curtail the involvement of UN commanders in Bosnia in decisions about launching airstrikes, their scope and when to call them off. But Britain and France continue to insist on close coordination with the United Nations, which has always been unwilling to call for airstrikes for fear of endangering peacekeepers on the ground.

Questioned on the reaction of the United Nations in the event of new NATO airstrikes, Akashi said the United Nations "knows the disadvantages and advantages on the ground. I think that our opinion should be taken into account. In the case of airstrikes many political questions have to be considered."

He said that the arrival of heavily armed troops of the Rapid Reaction Force in Bosnia had given a "new dimension to our work because we don't need more personnel but better equipped and better trained personnel."

Izetbegovic, German Ambassador Discuss Situation

AU2407193295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 24 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, today received Johannes Freisinger, German ambassador to our country, who, in the name of his government, inquired about the current situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

They discussed the Split Declaration of the leaderships of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, the so-called Bildt's package of mutual recognition of our country and Serbia, the deployment of the international Rapid Reaction Force, the operation for lifting the blockade of Sarajevo, and, in connection with this, the cooperation with the Croatian Defense Council, as well as the efforts to evacuate women and children from the Zepa safe haven.

President Izetbegovic and Freisinger also debated the possibility of a wider international action to secure better accommodation for the exiled people from Srebrenica. Judging by everything, Bonn might launch a sizable humanitarian initiative for Bosnia in the shortest possible time.

Silajdzic Threatens To Suspend Contacts

AU2407204895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 24 Jul 95

[Interview with Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic by Mladen Bosnjak, following the extraordinary government session in Sarajevo on 24 July—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Bosnjak] Mr. Silajdzic, another extraordinary session of the government of the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina was held in Sarajevo. One could say that the government is permanently in session. You analyzed the current military, security, and humanitarian situation on the free territories of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Regarding Zepa, it was concluded at the session that two villages were burning and that the Serbo-Montenegrin aggressor has been attacking this region with chemical agents today and yesterday, however, without any consequences on the defense lines. The lines are firm. In Bihac, they are attacking with some 7,000 to 9,000 men. Seven tanks and two armored personnel carriers were destroyed there and two M-84 tanks were captured. The government session concluded that, in the period from 21 July to 23 July, 20 residents were killed in Sarajevo while 51 sustained serious injuries and 26 minor injuries.

In the light of this situation, could you tell me what the government has proposed and what it is most likely to do?

[Silajdzic] Regarding the humanitarian situation, naturally, we focused primarily on refugees, especially from Srebrenica. I believe that the initial help offered to the refugees was adequate and that certain stories about the people at Tuzla airport being hungry were incorrect. I inquired from several sources, and I know that the people receive a package and a half per head daily on top of all other assistance. Therefore, there is no need to spread inaccurate news. The people were taken care of. First aid was offered. We, as the government, did as much as we could from here, in Sarajevo. We have our people, ministers, out there. On the other hand, the local, that is, the cantonal authorities in Tuzla have done

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a lot to find accommodation for these people and that is a fact.

What is particularly worrying is the humanitarian situation in Sarajevo, that is true. The situation is difficult, and the fact is that, in two and a half days, we have lost 20 people, whom the Serbian terrorists killed, while some 76 sustained various degrees of injuries. However, there was no reaction by the international community. The government conclusion on this issue is, thus, to address a letter to all the participants of the London Conference to ask them whether the priority of Gorazde, (?namely, they said at the London) Conference that if the Serbian terrorists cross the lines in Gorazde they would (?react), means that attacks on Bihac are permitted, that to kill civilians in Sarajevo is permitted, and so forth?

We know roughly what the answer will be, however, we will try our best to inform those who had voted for [words indistinct] to be aware of this issue. Next question.

[Bosnjak] You mentioned a possibility of suspending the contacts of the presidency and the government with, for example, the participants of the London Conference, that is, the representatives of the governments of these countries, for a limited period of time?

[Silajdzic] No. What we will propose is that [words indistinct] a short period completely break all contacts with the entire international community and, thus, divert attention to the fact that genocide in underway in Bosnia-Herzegovina. What we have in Sarajevo has been going on for a fourth year and the world should know this.

The Dutch defense minister confirmed that the Dutch, while they were in Srebrenica as a part of the UN Protection Force, witnessed the killing of people with their own eyes. Therefore, there were witnesses (?to genocide). As we discuss this, now there are some 15 members of the parliament [word indistinct] who have occupied an embassy of the so-called Yugoslavia in protest at the genocide [passage indistinct].

[Bosnjak] Another detail, the Kuwaiti Government informed us that it would participate in the action of building a settlement to accommodate the refugees from (?Srebrenica)?

[Silajdzic] Yes, the Kuwaiti Government allocated and (?symbolically) paid $10 million as first aid. During our visit to Kuwait, we asked the Kuwaiti Government to become involved in the project of providing accommodation for the refugees, that is, in the construction of a settlement that would cost $83 million altogether. As I have learned from the media, at a session yesterday, the Kuwaiti Government decided to participate in the construction of the settlement. To what extent we do not know yet.

[Bosnjak] At the end of this interview, another piece of information that might raise the spirits of the exiled persons from Srebrenica. In the course of today, the Ministry for Refugees and the mission of the Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina for humanitarian aid in the Republic of Croatia, in contacts with donors, secured the following quantities of food and equipment; the Red Crescent of Turkey—70 metric tons of food; the Israeli Government—40 metric tons of clothing and shoes; the Jordanian Government—24 metric tons of food and 4 metric tons of new clothing on top of the earlier 12 metric tons of medications; and Caritas from Aachen—7.5 metric tons of food.

Sacirbey 'Cynical' About London Conference

MS2507110795 London BBC Television Network in English 2130 GMT 24 Jul 95

[Interview with Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbey by Mark Urban in Zagreb on 24 July; from the "Newsnight" program—recorded]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Urban] What is your opinion of the London summit?

[Sacirbey] London I think in many ways for us was a disapointment, first by the fact that there was a London meeting. London was effectively established to once again restate commitments that had already been made in the past. In some ways, maybe not even stated in the same fashion, the same broad fashion as before. Zepa has been forgotten totally, and London effectively, in some people's minds, was a way to bury Zepa before its people were even dead. So I'm quite frankly cynical about the purposes behind the London conference. And, I've said openly, I think the British Government did not serve itself honorably in calling for this conference, when we in fact think what was necessary was not additional talk but action in response to clear violations of safe areas and clear demands upon NATO and the UN as a whole to act in a manner consistent with past commitments.

[Urban] There are reports now that the UN are concentrating quite large forces on the Mt. Igman route into Sarajevo. Do you think now the situation is about to change?

[Sacirbey] Since it is the only lifeline to Sarajevo, it's essential it be made more secure. We, for our part, are ready to cooperate with the UN forces, with the Rapid Reaction Forces, but we must emphasize one point, this is not a UN route, it's a Bosnian route. We've

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established it, we've maintained it, and we of course would look to the UN to act not in contravention of our sovereign and territorial integrity, but consistent with it. We are prepared to act as, if you would, allies, if you would, as those who would cooperate with the United Nations. But I think we have a basic problem that prevails throughout the UN mission. On the one hand the UN insists on maintaining neutrality, on the other hand the practical measures that they wish to take are sometimes consistent with those of only an ally, so they wish to have it both ways. They wish to have our cooperation, and they wish to have us facilitate their arrival in this country, facilitate their travel, and or course facilitate their safety. On the other hand they don't wish to make the political recognition that we are in fact acting as allies and that military actions must be coordinated.

[Urban] Do you believe now that the procedures for calling in NATO air strikes are going to be simplified and that's going to help you?

[Sacirbey] If there's any reason for a London summit to take place it was to change procedure and in fact remove the bureaucratic elements out of the decisionmaking process. But what we are also concerned about is selected application of mandates. There are clearly six safe areas to be defended and what we have really is a focus on one safe area. We have no focus on Zepa, we have very little focus on Bihac, Tuzla or Sarajevo. It's important for us not only that we remove the bureaucratic entanglement that is produced by this dual-key concept, but also that we have a consistent application of the UN mandate.

Envoy Comments on UN Mechanism, 'Impotence'

AU2407113995 Sarajevo LJILJAN in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jul 95 pp 14-15

[Interview with Ivica Misic, charge d'affaires of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Mission to the United Nations, by Zehrudin Isakovic; place and date not given: "American Volunteers Want To Fight in Bosnia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Isakovic] Mr. Misic, let us start from the latest resolution of the UN Security Council. That resolution authorizes the apparatus of the United Nations located in Bosnia-Herzegovina to restore the safe haven by all means available! What does it mean when translated into the language of Butrus Butrus-Ghali, and what should it really mean?

[Misic] Unfortunately, that latest resolution does not mean much, like all of the resolutions so far. I think in this case it is about a typical attempt at face-saving, and particularly of saving face for the members of the Security Council in the first place. That is, the secretary general has had those authorizations referred to by the latest resolution even before. He could have used them and ordered UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] to act in accordance with its own assessment of the situation. Unfortunately, UNPROFOR's assessment of the situation has always been such that in Bosnia-Herzegovina one should be patient, that in Bosnia-Herzegovina one should establish the so-called full neutrality, that in Bosnia-Herzegovina there cannot be any peace until the two warring factions reach an agreement.... Which is to say, if we know that such are the stances of the UN secretary general, then we cannot be optimists about the implementation of Resolution 1004, which was adopted several days ago. I have to say that I am not optimistic, and that I am not in the least confident about Butrus-Ghali, that he would do more than merely take care that the UNPROFOR troops withdraw to safety, and that the Dutch members of UNPROFOR get free. Of course, the secretary general will act in the same way when and if Zepa falls, and we shall again have the same old story.

[Isakovic] Let us resolve the dilemma of the relationship between the secretary general and NATO. Did the UN Security Council give the mandate to Butrus-Ghali to apply NATO's military force in "reestablishing the safe haven of Srebrenica"?

[Misic] Yes, it did. The military force of NATO certainly falls under the means that the secretary general has at his disposal.

[Isakovic] Which means that at this stage the use of military force is being directly impeded by Butrus-Ghali?

[Misic] Precisely. Look, he has never expressed readiness to use NATO's military force, not even at the time when much more could have been accomplished, provided that those were serious, rather than cosmetic air strikes against Chetnik objectives in Bosnia-Herzegovina. There are no reasons to believe that the secretary general would now be more willing to use NATO military force than before. In the first place, because it has been easy to perceive that Butrus-Ghali and his envoys to Bosnia-Herzegovina Yasushi Akashi and General Janvier can actually hardly wait to find some excuses or circumstances that would provide them with pretexts not to call for NATO actions. Even when some lower-level commanders in the field, either in Gorazde or in Zepa, Bihac or Srebrenica, were calling for NATO actions, because they considered that conditions had been met for its intervention, such initiatives were always halted somewhere on the line between the UNPROFOR commander for former Yugoslavia and special envoy Akashi, and, as a rule, NATO was not called

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upon. Let me remind you, NATO was called upon to act only when the situation was already desperate, when it was already fatally late. The most recent example is this sad and tragic case of Srebrenica. Just let us consider the timing of the Srebrenica case: for three days the Dutch battalion called incessantly for air support, and for three days those calls were casually turned down, with excuses like "now it is dark," or "now it is cloudy," or "now the objectives are not clearly discernible," or "now the Bosnian civilians or Serbs are too close," or "now the Serbs or the Dutch battalion are too close...." We heard hundreds of idiotic explanations for not meeting the demands of the Dutch troops, only to do it on the fourth day at 1420, when the Chetnik forces had already entered Srebrenica. I am not resorting to the theory of conspiracy, but it is definitely clear that the Serbs, at the moment when NATO intervened, had in their hands everything they needed to blackmail the United Nations. They had personally the commander of the Dutch troops, they had prisoners with whom they could do whatever they wanted, so that the Dutch defense minister had to ask the United Nations to call off the air strikes which had in the meantime become quite hazardous, because a massacre of the Dutch soldiers and our civilians could have happened. If NATO had intervened earlier, if those attacks had been serious and directed against vital Serbian objectives, which would have considerably diminished and reduced their artillery power, Srebrenica would not have happened.

[Isakovic] Can you describe your contacts with the United Nations? When you, for instance, face its officials with such clear arguments, as you have done right now, what kind of answers do you get?

[Misic] Answers vary within the scope of the arguments which I have criticized in my previous answer. They first tell you that UNPROFOR did not go to Bosnia to become a warring faction. We reply that we do not expect UNPROFOR to be anything like that, but we do expect UNPROFOR to perform its tasks, which are quite precisely defined by the resolutions of the Security Council. Then they say that the circumstances are constantly changing, and that UNPROFOR must be neutral, impartial.... Then we convince them that through its own interpretation of impartiality and neutrality UNPROFOR in Bosnia-Herzegovina has become terribly and unbearably partial, and absolutely nonneutral. UNPROFOR has been reduced to a mere onlooker of the Serbian terror, and sometimes even an obedient assistant to the execution of Chetnik intentions, the freshest example of which is Srebrenica, where it has assisted Mladic and Karadzic in ethnic cleansing and genocide of the Bosniak people. After which they say that UNPROFOR is inadequately armed.... Then I ask them: Why did UNPROFOR come to Bosnia-Herzegovina in the first place? If it will take more care of itself, as is the case in the last several months, if they will worry about and agonize over their own security, be exposed to humiliation and degradation, then UNPROFOR will best protect its honor and security in the countries its troops have come from. I am afraid that with what has happened in Bosnia-Herzegovina, with such an unthinkable derogation and devaluation of the mission of UNPROFOR, any credibility of the United Nations as a universal world organization is lost for a long, long time.

[Isakovic] To what extent is the organization itself to blame for the entire humiliation of the United Nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and to what extent is it Butrus-Ghali, as its leading official?

[Misic] I think that the secretary general is the product of a certain constellation of political interests in Bosnia-Herzegovina. As the first man of the United Nations, he is responsible to the General Assembly and follows decisions made by the Security Council. However, there exists a relationship the other way round. He is a man who can influence the process and quality of decisions made, because Butrus-Ghali is the one who prepares proposals and presents them to the Security Council, and after a decision is made by the Security Council he implements it. Therefore, Butrus-Ghali has quite concrete capacity to exert strong influence. In his work so far he has mostly followed the interests of the major powers involved in the game, those of Great Britain and France in the first place, and sometimes he has gone beyond that, trying to recognize in advance their opinion and what they would like him to do.

[Isakovic] What concretely can your cabinet do, as an extended hand of the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina? Can you exert influence on the decisions made by UN administration?

[Misic] I am afraid that what we are able to do is insufficient, and boils down mostly to clear warnings and expeditious informing of the Security Council and the UN Secretariat on events happening in the field, on which they, after all, get information from their own sources as well. That information and their reports are unfortunately frequently contradictory. Our information differs from theirs. We are very disappointed and we have a feeling that those reports are adapted, polished, or fabricated, and that sometimes important content is omitted, while what is not so important is added. In that chain it is terribly difficult to find anybody who lies. Is it the man who dispatches the basic, initial piece of information from the field, or the one who prepares the end piece of information and adapts it into briefings for the Security Council? Our reports

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are quite frequently distrusted, and, unfortunately, the course of events usually shows that we were right. In addition to informing, we are trying to lobby for Bosnia-Herzegovina in our contacts with certain member states of the Security Council, or suggest to them proposals, ideas or demands.... Our range in that respect is limited, and although we are achieving successes on paper and by arguments, those successes in reality are usually watered down or sabotaged. At the moment it is of great importance to us what the Rapid Reaction Force will be willing to do.

[Isakovic] What do you expect that force will be ready to do, in view of such a poor and unfavorable constellation of relations and forces in the United Nations?

[Misic] The fact is that those forces will be incomparably better equipped and armed than the existing ones. With 10,000 to 12,000 soldiers, those units represent a really respectable military force. However, the key question is will that force be used, and if yes to what degree, that is, whether there will be the will to have it used. Many questions remain to which there are no answers, starting with the role of the intervention force itself to their positions on the ground. The official definition of the task of that force is to "protect UNPROFOR and make possible the fulfillment of its tasks." This may mean a lot of various things. It is a matter of interpretation. It could happen that those forces turn out to be a complete failure, and that they sink in the dullness and impotence of UNPROFOR. However, it might just as well happen that they make a turn at least to a degree, and that they become a certain authority over the so far uncurbed actions taken by Karadzic's terrorists. Which means that both variants are possible, and which one will turn out to be the case will depend on developments in Bosnia-Herzegovina as well. At the moment it seems to me that the provocativeness, arrogance, aggressiveness, and brutality of Karadzic's Chetniks may perhaps be not a drop, but rather a cistern of nastiness that will make the brimming glass spill over, and motivate and encourage the Rapid Reaction Force to react quickly.

[Isakovic] Karadzic's Serbs are mercilessly attacking Zepa. Do the warnings that it is high time that NATO take action still hold water?

[Misic] Following the instruction of our government, we have already forwarded to the Security Council the demand for protection of Zepa, drawing the Council's attention to the intensification of the attack and artillery cannonade that is an overture to the infantry's penetrating into the town itself. We are still uncertain about the Security Council. Perhaps Zepa will be a motive for the Rapid Reaction Force to act quickly. I think that is their first and last chance to react.

[Isakovic] Are you saying that the engagement of the United Nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina is on its last legs?

[Misic] Yes. The fate of the United Nations, that is, UNPROFOR in Bosnia-Herzegovina will be resolved very soon. It will for the most part depend on the direct interests of the Contact Group member states, and it will depend on their assessments and political opportunism. If the goal is to rehabilitate the United Nations, not only because of Bosnia, but also because of their own credibility, and if the awareness of their own responsibility overcomes cowardice, opportunism, petty politics...then one can expect positive results. However, I am afraid that the time is running out for that, and if now nothing concrete happens, then we are inevitably approaching the time when the United Nations will have to pack up its things and leave Bosnia-Herzegovina. That would then impose a burden on us to determine precisely and fully the conditions and procedures of UNPROFOR's withdrawal, as well as to agree on commitments that UNPROFOR has to fulfill before it leaves Bosnia-Herzegovina in order to make it possible for the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina to take full control of the situation. Thereby the possibility that unpredictable negative consequences may occur would be prevented.

[Isakovic] How do you comment on the announcement made by Prime Minister Silajdzic that our government, if the aggression against the enclaves continues, will be forced to call on friendly countries and volunteers from all over the world, organized in international brigades, to fight against fascism, just like in Spain once?

[Misic] That is a marvelous idea. It is absolutely known that many countries, not only the Islamic ones, as the uninformed often consider, are quite irritated and embittered by the cowardice of the leading world powers. Those countries are also fearful of such a development, because they are aware that it is just an introduction to much greater and more global world conflicts. In addition, those countries are embittered by the fate of the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and are ready to get engaged in deterring the Serbian aggression on the basis of a joint action. Besides, I am sometimes simply forced to evade direct demands of Americans who want to go to Bosnia-Herzegovina and fight there against the savagery, genocide, and fascism. I think that idea is great, and that it, among other things, has a value as a warning to those who at the moment play a major role in defining the policy and actions on Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is a warning that it is high time they did

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what is their obligation, or to accept the definitive fact that Bosnia-Herzegovina will be defended and succeed in defending itself also with the help of friends and volunteers from all over the world.

Assembly Chairman Berates UNPROFOR

AU2407201295 Sarajevo VECERNJE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jul 95 p 4

["Excerpt" of interview with Miro Lazovic, chairman of the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by an unidentified "Alternative Information Magazine" correspondent; place and date not given: "A Debate About UNPROFOR's Status Soon"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Question] Is there an official stand of the authorities' highest organ on the role of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], its stay in or departure from our country, and what is your personal view on the matter?

[Lazovic] There are many reasons to be angry and to justifiably criticize the current role of UNPROFOR and its debatable mandate. It appears to me that after everything, especially after the shameful surrender of the UN-protected area of Srebrenica to Karadzic's Serbs, that all this time UNPROFOR has only been a smoke screen for the British to cover greater Serbian conquests.

Its shameful role, which was imposed by Britain, could only compromise it and lead to its humiliation, which its protectors took care of. The pictures of UNPROFOR members tied up by Karadzic have been seen around the world.

So, after three years of deception, it is clear that UNPROFOR's mission has experienced a fiasco, and that it is not only its role and survival that need to be reexamined but also that of the international policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Notwithstanding UNPROFOR's contribution regarding the delivery of humanitarian aid, the conditions are ripe to reexamine fundamentally its mandate and survival. This will be discussed at the next session of the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Question] Regarding the fall of Srebrenica, there have been stories among the public at home and abroad about an alleged agreement on the exchange of territories in eastern Bosnia for Ilijas and Vogosca. Are there any grounds for these claims, and do you believe in the possibility of establishing a stable peace in this way?

[Lazovic] Even though Karadzic did mention a possibility of exchanging the territories of the enclaves in eastern Bosnian for some parts around Sarajevo during the Geneva negotiations in 1992, the fall of Srebrenica is not the result of political trade in territories. Peace achieved in that way would not last. It would not suit the Bosnians of any nationality, because it would render it impossible for the people to the return to their centuries-old homes and would amount to the exoneration of war crimes.

Peace achieved with this kind of policy would amount to a state of dissatisfaction and pressure on the Bosnian population, and would lead to endless hostilities and tensions that would wait for an opportune moment to turn into a war.

French, British RRF Troops Complete Deployment

AU2407165995 Paris AFP in English 1624 GMT 24 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, July 24 (AFP)—French and British troops of the Rapid Reaction Force (RRF) completed their deployment on Mount Igman, southwest of Sarajevo, late Monday [24 July], the UN Protection Force announced.

The multinational force of more than 800 men arrived on the mountain, which provides the only route into the besieged city, in late afternoon, a UN spokesman said.

Bosnian Croats Permit Transit

LD2407170195 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosnia in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 24 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Regarding the latest information on the movement of the multinational Rapid Reaction Force [RRF] in the Tomislavgrad and Vitez areas, the Bosnian Croat Bureau for Cooperation with UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] and International Organizations has issued the following statement for the public:

After the UNPROFOR Main Headquarters for Bosnia-Herzegovina asked this bureau via the Sarajevo-based Joint Staff of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army yesterday afternoon to allow RRF units to pass through the territories under the HVO control, and following consultations with Kresmir Zubak, the president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the president of the Presidential Council of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, and Major General Tihomir Blaskic, the HVO Chief of General Staff, this bureau issued yesterday afternoon a permission for these units to travel to Sarajevo through these territories.

In this way we wanted to allow this force to undertake the necessary activities to protect UNPROFOR forces from the Serb aggressor, to secure roads for humanitarian aid delivery for Sarajevo, and to provide additional

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protection for the citizens of this city. Thus, the Croat side manifested the spirit of full cooperation and observance of all past agreements reached with RRF representatives, but the same, unfortunately, cannot be said about them.

War Crimes Tribunal Charges Karadzic, Mladic

AU2507120395 Paris AFP in English 1148 GMT 25 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Hague, July 25 (AFP)—The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia on Tuesday [25 July] officially charged Bosnian Serb leaders Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic with genocide and crime against humanity.

The Tribunal's chief prosecutor South African judge Richard Goldstone also accused them of having ordered the hostage-taking of UN peacekeepers.

Srebrenica Survivor Tells of Mass Serb Shootings

BR2507100095 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 25 Jul 95 p 5

[Article by Leonardo Coen: "The Evidence of Genocide"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Split—[Passage omitted] This hour of hate is the hour which a young 25-year-old Muslim spent last Thursday [20 July], just outside Srebrenica, before being shot by the Chetniks: "I was captured along with very many other men: soldiers, civilians, people who had taken refuge in Srebrenica. They took us to the edge of a wood. They forced us to dig a deep, long trench: our grave, as we immediately understood. I do not know how many of us there were. Hundreds, I think. We dug slowly, to stretch out our lives by a few minutes. Nobody was crying; indeed, some even found the courage to recite a poem, Zetva, which means harvest, and tells of peasants toiling over their harvests their whole life long, and we were looking on our deaths in that trench. The Serbs assembled us on the edges of that trench and began to shoot with their machine guns. I was hit and I fell on top of other bodies. I pretended to be dead. The Serbs must have been in a hurry: They filled in the trench with the earth we had dug out. The earth covered me but it was only a thin layer. I could breathe. When I was sure none of them were hanging around any more, I escaped." [passage omitted]

Refugees Describe Atrocities

BR2507123595 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 24 Jul 95 p 4

[Article by Giuseppe D'Avanzo: "He Begged Me, Please Brother, Kill Me"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tuzla—On Friday 14 July, the anniversary of the storming of the Bastille, [Italian Greens activist] Marina Ripa di Meana unfurled her anti-French banner on the balcony of the French Embassy, the world was stirred by the fate of Greenpeace in Mururoa, and Almir, a 15-year-old Bosnian Muslim boy, with a shock of blond, Nordic hair but undernourished like a stray dog, had to make the first choice of his life, should he leave Srebrenica with his mother or should he join his father, holed up in the mountains?

Srebrenica, two hours by air from Rome, if there were any flights going there, that is, is (was) a Muslim enclave in an area controlled by the Bosnian Serbs. Last year the United Nations solemnly declared it a safe area which meant that 402 Netherlands Blue Helmets were sent into Srebrenica, disarmed the Muslims, and were made the guarantors of their safety.

On that Friday, 14 July, it was clear that nobody was defending the Bosnian Muslims from the Chetniks. After the first attack, the United Nations' Yadro command post surrendered and the Chetniks were moving toward the center of Srebrenica. Should he flee with his father and the fighters through the forest, or should he go with his mother in the convoys that the Chetniks proposed organizing? Almir decided to go with his father.

Almir's green-eyed mother said: "My husband is a gentle man, he hates guns and I don't think he ever touched one before. He is a chemical engineer. He loved his family. All he asked for in life was a good future for his sons. We had everything we needed in Srebrenica and we had a happy family."

"When the Blue Helmets pulled out, the final attack began. The Netherlanders told us that the UN planes would come soon. We waited but no planes came. The only thing that came was Chetnik armored vehicles. They opened fire on us with their antiaircraft guns. It was a nightmare. We, women, children, and old people, were taken to Potocari. The Chetniks imprisoned us there in an old ammonia factory. There were 25,000 of us in that camp and I will never forget it. We could not breathe and the ammonia fumes made people throw up and faint. There were a few Netherlanders with us. They were in a corner and had been stripped down to their underwear. There was a square in front of the factory and it was full of Chetniks. Some of them came inside and picked out girls of 14 and 15, even some girls of just

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12 years old. They tore them away from their mothers and brothers. When they were taken out all we heard was a single long scream which gradually got further away. None of them returned. The next day a woman told me that they threw the girls into the trucks. They could have been unconscious or they could have been dead."

Almir told us: "I lost my father in the first ambush they sprang on us in the forest. I never saw him again. I didn't see him wounded or dead. I lost him. I looked for him everywhere but couldn't find him. I joined those who were trying to escape into the surrounding forest. We succeeded in getting away."

Almir kept his eyes so low that they almost look closed.

"We rested during the day and traveled by night holding each other's belts so that we would not get lost in the forest. We were hungry. We had sugar and salt, and the old people said that they would help us keep our balance. We ate what we could find in the woods, small apples, snails, funghi, and herbs. However, our problem was not hunger but ambushes by the Chetniks. The biggest ambush was at Kamenica. That caused a lot of panic. Some of our number committed suicide. They stood together, one of them pulled the pin out of the grenade, and they were be blown into five or six pieces. I think I must have seen about 50 bodies around me. I hid under the bodies and then the hell was over. We decided to move on that night. We dragged the wounded with us for a couple of kilometers but it was impossible to go through the forest with them and we had to leave them there. One man said to me: 'Kill me, brother, kill me.' Nobody was brave enough to do it so we left them a bomb and they killed themselves."

His mother continued her story: "After two days in the ammonia factory they got us together and herded us outside. The trucks and buses were waiting for us. They split us up into groups. Some were sent to Tuzla and others went to the camp."

Almir's mother looked vaguely away into the distance without really seeing anything.

"[Bosnian Serb commander] Ratko Mladic was in the square, directing operations. There were also members of Arkan's militia (a Belgrade delinquent who heads up the irregular Serb forces—LA REPUBBLICA editor's note)."

"I will never forget the look on Mladic's face. He was smiling. He was happy, like a child with a new toy. He was the one deciding who would go where. He was laughing with the officers around him. They made us get into a bus. Just outside Srebrenica we saw a lot of people gathered in the fields and the Chetniks showering them with bombs and grenades. In Kravica and Sandici we saw a lot of men tied together and surrounded by Serbs. In Sandici there were at least 2,000 of them sitting on the ground in a field. The road between Bratunac and Titisce was full of armored vehicles, tanks, and white jeeps. They were UN vehicles but they were being driven by Serbs and they were all wearing Blue Helmets. There were hundreds of corpses lying by the roadside. There were heads on poles and headless bodies arranged in grotesque poses looking like stringless puppets in a gruesome theater. We lived through and saw horrors that cannot be described in words. It was like an ill-conceived and badly written horror story."

Almir continued his narrative. "Near Poblice we tried to cross a road to enter a wood. The Chetniks saw us and began to shoot at us. We were walking through the trees just a few meters from the road."

Almir twisted a blade of grass in his fingers.

"The road was strewn with the bodies of people who had left Srebrenica before us. Many had taken their own lives. I have never seen such mutilated bodies. I cannot forget a body that did not have arms, legs, or a head. A few hours later an old man said to me and some other boys my age: 'Come, drink at the stream.' He was carrying a hunting rifle and a hand grenade. We could see the stream when the old man heard something—'they' were above us. He whispered: 'Hide, they are not our people.' He pushed me into a thorny bush. I made too much noise falling into it and the Chetniks were upon us. They seized us. They seized the old man and started to hit him. They wanted him to call to the others in the wood to surrender. The old man refused and they hit him some more. His eyes were bleeding. When he would do nothing more they made him sit down. They then told me to shout 'come out; they will not harm you!' I shouted but nobody came out of hiding. While the Chetniks surrounded the others they took me and the old man to the other side of the road. A man came up and shot the old man in the head. It made a hole as big as a hand. I saw his brains blow out. That was the only murder I saw. There were 1,500 of us when we set out and there were only 500 of us left. They took everyone. There were only four of us boys. They took the others to Konic Polje but they took us to Bratunac to a kind of prison. They treated us well. They did not beat us. They gave us food. The next day Serbian TV came. They told us what we had to say. We said it. Two days later, after another TV interview they put us in an UNPROFOR vehicle driven by a Serb. We arrived at a Chetnik camp. The commandant gave us a map of the minefield, told us to go 100 meters and then to shout: 'We are children from Srebrenica, don't fire.' We did

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it and our people came and got us out. The next day I was in Tuzla."

Almir's mother chain-smoked. Her index finger was stained yellow with nicotine. Her quiet voice was nothing but a wheeze.

"We used to live with Serbs. I worked with them, ate with them, sat next to them at school. I would never have believed that they could do this, but they did. One of the people firing on the men in the field was a former schoolmate of mine. They did it in front of everyone and nobody extended a hand or offered any kind of assistance. I pray to the Lord for this genocide to stop. I do not want Almir to live in hate. I do not want him to think that life is about war, killing, and revenge."

Almir finally lifted his eyes. They were dry.

"I have always wished the Serbs well. Some of my best friends were Serbs. I had great times with Branko, Dragan, and Vuk. I don't understand why we now want to kill each other. All I know is that I don't want to stay in Bosnia any longer."

Almir met up with his mother two days ago. They are now housed in the school in Petar Kocic di Salina, a village on the outskirts of Tuzla in Eastern Bosnia.

Intercepts Implicate Yugoslav Army in Srebrenica

AU2507123095 Ljubljana OSLOBODJENJE (Europe edition) in Serbo-Croatian 20-23 Jul 95 p 3

[Article by Djuro Kozar: "The Murderers Arrived From Across the Drina"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It has already been said that Srebrenica was conquered from Belgrade and valid evidence of the direct involvement of the so-called army of Yugoslavia in the attack on this so-called safe haven has been made. Meanwhile, it is not so well known that, seven days before Srebrenica was abandoned to the [Serb] aggressor, this had all been announced in Belgrade. On July 4, the commander of the so-called 1st Army of the Yugoslav army, Lieutenant General Dragoljub Ojdanic, told the TANJUG news agency and Pale radio broadcast the following message:

"The two Muslim enclaves of Srebrenica and Zepa are situated in the heart of Serb territory and it should not have been allowed to form them. It is impossible to remain this way. It has to be solved militarily."

Without doubt, a war criminal such as Ojdanic, who in spring 1992 ethnically devastated Visegrad, as the head of the JNA's [Yugoslav Peoples' Army] Uzice Corps, is obviously well informed. He knew everything, because the occupation of Srebrenica was planned at the General Staff headquarters in Belgrade and conducted via radio from the advanced command post of General Momcilo Perisic [chief of staff of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Army] at Tara. As the underground headquarters at Tara is within the jurisdiction of the so-called 1st Army, Perisic was probably accompanied by Ojdanic, and with them there was also Major General Dusan Loncar, the current commander of the [Yugoslav army's] Uzice Corps. All three of them were commanders of the former army units that carried out the aggression against the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1992.

The Belgrade planners of the Chetnik attack on Srebrenica probably calculated that the strength of the so-called Drina Corps of the "army of the Serb Republic [Serb-occupied entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina]" was insufficient, so they reinforced it with units from Serbia: regular VRJ [Army of the Republic of Yugoslavia] troops, Arkan's Tigers [Serbian paramilitary forces of Zeljko Raznjatovic], and the rest of the volunteer scum. Serbia sent artillery (a regiment from Kraljevo) and some elements of the Serbian Special Forces Corps, which, along with the Chetnik hordes from Mt. Romanija [near Sarajevo], spied out the land, so that later on Arkan's people could start to terrorize men between 10 and 70 years old whom they thought suspicious just because they were Bosniaks.

War criminal Ratko Mladic wanted to be 100 percent sure. Therefore he sent not only the so-called Drina Corps, but also the reinforcements from Serbia against the so-called safe havens of Srebrenica and Zepa. The Drina Corps consists of four brigades (in Gorazde, Vlasenica, Foca, and Zvornik) and two regiments (in Han-Pijesak and Visegrad). Some of those formations, such as the Han-Pijesak regiment, were almost completely destroyed on the Nisic Plateau, so new personnel had to be brought, mainly through forced mobilization. The commander of "the Drina Corps" is Maj. Gen. Milenko Zivanovic, a nationalist who does not refrain from the worst drill just to carry out all his orders from Pale.

It is indicative that the so-called Drina Corps, whenever it has launched an offensive, has relied upon generous assistance in personnel, weapons, and logistics from Serbia. For example, in each of the attacks on Gorazde, Gen. Zivanovic has been assisted by units arriving from Uzice, Valjevo, or Novi Sad, and special forces from Nis and Pancevo, and guardsmen from Belgrade. The reason for asking for help is that the brigades and the regiments of that corps have never been completely filled up by Chetniks and because of the lack of infrastructure, because out of the six places mentioned, the former JNA had barracks only in Han-Pijesak and Foca.

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Neither Zivanovic, the commander of "the Drina Corps," nor the chief of his staff, the newly appointed Maj. Gen. Vladimir Krstic have the capability or experience of commanding combat operations, so those in Belgrade have to draw up everything for them and, when the offensive starts, they have to send them instructions via radio. Serbia has thus, during the whole aggression on Bosnia-Herzegovina, been an active participant, as has been proved by the attack on Srebrenica 10 days ago. Some coded messages broadcast from Tara to Vlasenica, where Zivanovic's command is situated, were intercepted.

The artillery regiment from Kraljevo, from the Uzice Corps, is armed with modern weapons intended to destroy surface targets. It also has multiple-rocket launchers. Moreover, future artillery officers of the "Yugoslav army" spend a period of training in that regiment. Its batteries were spewing death day after day in the Srebrenica "safe haven" and the consequences were tragic: dozens of killed and wounded people, ruined mosques, schools, health centers, residential buildings, and many buildings burnt. Military academy cadets have not yet become army officers, but Belgrade has already made criminals of them by engaging them in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is well known that shelling civilians is always a criminal act.

As regards the special forces from Serbia, they are mercenaries who, with shorter or longer breaks, have constantly been on the Bosnia-Herzegovina fronts and are already being called "the dogs of war." The monster Mladic also deployed the most elite formations against civilians, to occupy, ethnically devastate, and terrorize Srebrenica, where Bosniaks have always been in the majority. Prior to that, in agreement with corrupt UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] Dutch battalion, he took all the arms that had been excluded from this demilitarized zone.

According to Gen. Ojdanic's statement, in the case of Srebrenica, everything was planned in advance. It even seems as though they had been waiting for the UN Security Council to vote to extend the partial lifting of the sanctions imposed on the so-called FRY on air traffic, culture, and sport, before impudently and with impunity attacking the so-called safe havens just as if no resolutions about them had ever been made anywhere.

Akashi Reports Agreement on Zepa Evacuation

AU2507075495 Paris AFP in English
0720 GMT 25 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 25 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb forces and local authorities in the eastern enclave of Zepa have reached an accord on evacuating some of the civilians from the Serb-besieged pocket, the United Nations announced Tuesday [25 July]. The accord concerns mainly women, children, the wounded and elderly men in the Moslem UN-declared safe area, the UN Protection Force said here, quoting information received from Ukrainian peacekeepers stationed in the enclave.

In Zagreb, UN special envoy to ex-Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi also reported that an agreement had been reached. "We have reached an agreeement for the evacuation from the safe area of Zepa of the civilians," he said. "This agreement is very significant."

Akashi did not specify when the evacuation would take place and whether the accord amounted to a surrender of the enclave's Bosnian defenders. The Serbs had previously said that they would allow Zepa's 12,000-strong civilian population to leave only if the enclave surrenders.

A UN liaison team left Sarajevo Tuesday morning for the enclave, spokeswoman Myriam Sochacki said. "Our information is that there was an agreement between the Serbs and the B-H (Bosnian officials) following consultations (Monday) evening," she said.

Sochacki said Ukrainian peacekeepers in the pocket said an agreement had been reached for the women, children, and elderly men to leave and Zepa's defenders to hand their weapons over to the United Nations. She said she did not know if the military authorities in Zepa had agreed to this.

A similar situation arose last week when UN military and civilian officials reached the enclave to oversee the safe departure of several thousand women, children, and sick from Zepa following an earlier agreement which then fell through.

Siladjzic Demands UN Oversight

AU2507120895 Paris AFP in English
1134 GMT 25 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 25 (AFP)—The Bosnian Government asked UN peacekeepers to oversee the evacuation of women, children, sick and wounded from the Zepa enclave where Bosnian Serb forces are reported to have entered the town Tuesday [25 July]. Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic said: "We want these women and children evacuated by UNPROFOR (United Nations Protection Force) from Zepa." President Alija Izetbegovic wrote to the UN Security Council requesting a resolution to order UNPROFOR to evacute these people, he added.

UN officials said Tuesday a UN liaison team that arrived at the government-held enclave in the morning

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was shown a document apparently signed by the civil authorities in Zepa and the Bosnian Serb Army commander General Ratko Mladic.

Alexander Ivanko, a UN spokesman, said: "Our liaison team has been shown a document agreeing to the evacuation of civilians. The Serbs may be rolling into the town right now. They have said they will provide transportation."

Silajdzic, however, said all civilians from the town had fled into the surrounding hills. "The situation there is very difficult if not dramatic," he said. A similar agreement was made last week but fell through. Silajdzic said there was no agreement on the fate of the men so far. "Under the protection of the UNPROFOR the surrender of the men could be negotiated," the Bosnian premier said.

Ivanko said talks were underway Tuesday between Bosnian and Serb prisoner of exchange commissions at Sarajevo airport but gave no further details.

Silajdzic called on the UN peacekeepers to extract the defenders of Zepa from the enclave by helicopter. Ivanko said such an operation could only be carried out with the consent of the Bosnian Serbs. The peacekeepers were ordered by the Security Council to do otherwise.

France Calls For 'Restraint by All' in Bihac

AU2407142395 Paris AFP in English
1359 GMT 24 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Paris, July 24 (AFP)—France Monday called for restraint by "all parties" engaged in fighting in the northwest Bosnian enclave of Bihac, where Serb rebels from both Bosnia and Croatia have launched an offensive against Bosnian government forces. Paris is following the situation closely "in regions which are close to Croatian territory," Foreign Ministry spokesman Francois Gouyette said.

Croatian Serb forces are reported to have seized control of a large swathe in the Bihac enclave. They are fighting in support of rebel Moslem forces loyal to the local warlord Fikret Abdic and Bosnian Serb forces pressing from the south and east.

UN spokesmen in Sarajevo have described the situation in the enclave, which contains a UN-designated safe area, as serious. Gouyette said it was "important not to have a repetition of what happened the other week in Srebrenica," one of Bosnia's six UN-protected areas which Serb forces captured on July 11 with the expulsion of some 45,000 inhabitants.

Referring to a warning issued to the Bosnian Serbs Friday at an international conference on Bosnia that they would face a "substantial and decisive response" if they pursued their attacks, Gouyette said "all the safe areas were covered by pledge." The parties involved in Bihac "know our position and we call on them for restraint," he said.

Croatia was feared to be considering an attack on its Serb-controlled Krajina region, bordering Bihac. Zagreb has long sought to seize back territory claimed by Serb separatists in a six-month war in 1991, and in May overran the Serb-held region of western Slavonia, in the east of the republic.

On Saturday Croatia pledged military aid to Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Moslem-Croat Federation in Bosnia against "Serb aggression," with particular reference to Bihac.

The Serb onslaught in Bihac began last Thursday. Hundreds of people are said to be fleeing the Croatian Serb offensive in the west of the enclave.

Serbs Report Muslim Attacks

LD2407190795 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1835 GMT 24 Jul 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, July 24 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb Army has repulsed a heavy artillery and infantry attack of Muslim forces from Bihac, Muslim enclave in northwestern Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bosnian Serb Army press service said Monday. Serb combatants are also strongly repulsing Muslim attacks on Ozren-Vozuca frontline in northern Bosnia.

The joint forces of regular Croatian Army and Bosnian Croat Army (Croat Defense Council—HVO) are firing on Serb military and civilian targets at Grahovo-Glamoc frontline in western Bosnia. According to information provided by UN peacekeepers, 1,600 regular Croatian troops arrived in Bosnia last week to reinforce HVO.

Heavy inter-Muslim fighting is underway in western Bosnia between the forces loyal to the central authorities in Sarajevo and the forces of the Autonomous Province of West Bosnia, provincial Radio Velkaton reports.

The radio said that 5th Muslim Corps units which tried to surprise vest Bosnian forces by counterattacking in several places were broken up and their attacks were successfully repulsed with minimal losses among west Bosnian forces.

Izetbegovic's army has suffered heavy losses, but the numbers of killed and wounded have not been disclosed.

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People who had been expelled from west Bosnia are returning to liberated territories, where new civilian authority is being established.

Muslim army artillery attacked twice the town of Doboj in central Bosnia. One civilian was wounded and material damage was caused to buildings and installations. Doboj inhabitants have remained in shelters since dawn.

There has been no peace at Herzegovina frontlines either, Serb military sources said.

Muslims Report Serb Attacks

AU2507094095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 25 Jul 95

[Report by Muhamed Mulic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Text] The aggression against the Bihac Sana-Una Canton has been continuing today from the territory of the so-called Serb Krajina.

Throughout the night and into this morning the enemy has been pounding Trzacka Rasela, the area of Vitkovac, and the region around Pecigrad, trying at the same time to advance with tanks, artillery, and infantry, but to no avail.

The united aggressor has activated all available military hardware and troops around the protected zone of Bihac, in the region of the former air base of Zeljava, Licko Petrovo Selo, and Hadzilovac toward Bihac's outskirts. In addition to the artillery and tanks, the enemy also moved up his infantry, but the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps forced them back to their initial positions.

An aggressor's tank and infantry attack has also been neutralized on Turski Kozjen on Mt. Grmec. In the (?Godina) area toward Bosanski Novi, the aggressor also attempted an infantry breakthrough but this failed.

Thus the aggression on the Una-Sana Canton is continuing with full ferocity in front of the eyes of the impotent international community.

2,000 Flee Serb Attacks

AU2407181795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 24 Jul 95

[Report by Mirza Sadikovic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Text] The most intense attacks continue to focus on the Bugar-Trzacka Rastela-Krivaja-Liskovac line, where hundreds of various rounds have landed. Simultaneously, the settlements in the region are also suffering constant attacks, and another 2,000 residents have ventured into a new uncertainty today.

Currently there are 5,000 refugees and exiled persons without roofs over their heads, and there is no need to expound on what this means for the exhausted people, especially in the Cazin and Bihac municipalities.

In the second half of the day the Chetniks tried to redirect attacks to other fronts to conceal at least somewhat the aggression that is coming from another country. In the area of Ivanjska and [word indistinct] they undertook powerful artillery and tank preparations and also attempted a powerful infantry breakthrough. The same happened on the Bihac front, particularly on (?Turski Kozjen and Hrgar). They were all routed by the adamant response of our defenders.

The soldiers of the 5th Corps and the headquarters of the Croatian Defense Council of Bihac are offering superhuman resistance, while all the residents are trying to help the exiled persons and refugees. [Words indistinct] seeking assistance in hospitals as a catastrophic humanitarian situation has taken its toll.

The drama in this part of the country continues.

Abdic To Proclaim Muslim Republic in West Bosnia

LD2507094295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0932 GMT 25 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Petrovac, July 25 (TANJUG)—A Muslim republic is about to proclaimed in western Bosnia.

A recommendation to that effect was adopted Monday in Velika Kladusa, centre of the Muslim Autonomous Province of West Bosnia (APZB), by the central board for the proclamation of the republic of west Bosnia, west Bosnia media reported.

APZB president Fikret Abdic was quoted as saying at the board's session that "all conditions exist" for the proclamation of the republic.

Intra-Muslim fighting broke out in western Bosnia in September 1993, after the local population, headed by Abdic, proclaimed autonomy, rejecting the war policy of Sarajevo-based Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic.

Serbs Allow Aid Convoy To Enter Gorazde

LD2407191995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1810 GMT 24 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—Dragan Kekic, Serb Republic deputy commissioner for refugees, has told TANJUG by phone that a UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees] convoy carrying 176 tonnes of food arrived in Gorazde tonight at about 1900.

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This is the first convoy the Serb side has allowed to enter the Muslim enclave since 22 July when an agreement was reached with the UNHCR. Kekic said that the UNHCR has also dispatched 40 tonnes of aid to Serb territories today from Metkovic. He made it clear that this was only half the promised amount of aid.

The UNHCR office in Belgrade has said that it will send 14 truckloads of aid to Sokolac, Visegrad, Bratunac, Doboj, Kopace, Bijeljina, and Vlasenica.

City Under 'Intense' Serb Fire

AU2507104695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 25 Jul 95

[Report by Muhamed Hadzijahic from Gorazde]

[FBIS Translated Text] Intense flak and M-84 machine gun fire from (?Jelaska Kosa) and Sjenokos has been directed at the center of Gorazde and the suburbs of (?Omar) and Radici. From [word indistinct] a 40-mm antiaircraft gun has been firing at (?Piharici) and an M-84 machine gun from [words indistinct].

The Chetniks have been firing heavily with antiaircraft machine guns from Sjenokos at Borovi. The villages of Osanica, (?Bratinje), [word indistinct], Vranici, and [word indistinct] in the direction of Foca have been exposed to the [Serb] aggressor's attacks from Debela Medja. From Stolac an antiaircraft machine gun has been firing at [word indistinct].

As for the Rogatica part of the front, war criminal Radovan Karadzic's terrorists have been shelling the (?Oseka) with 82-mm mortars from Zabrdje and Ravnjace, and Orlijak from Kamenjace. The village of (Hrenovica) on the Pale front has come under flak and small arms fire from the direction of [word indistinct].

Karadzic Defends Concept of Serbian Republic

BR2407143995 Milan IL GIORNALE in Italian 23 Jul 95 p 14

[Interview with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic by Daniela Atropia; place and date not given: "Europe, We Are Saving You From Islam"]

[FBIS Translated Text] He is the most troublesome leader in Europe and the most hated politician of the day. Half the world's media have compared him to Saddam Husayn and described his methods as "Hitleresque." His former Bosnian friends who used to work alongside him at the Kosevo Hospital in Sarajevo regard him as an ultranationalist and megalomaniac. The Muslims and Croats accuse him of being to blame for the war in Bosnia with his "ethnic cleansing," and for the endless death throes suffered by Sarajevo. He, meanwhile, has carried on waving the flag of the territorial rights of the Serbian people for over three years, holding international diplomacy in check. Radovan Karadzic, 51, poet, psychiatrist, and president of the Bosnian Serbs, has a number of bees in his bonnet, including the theory of an international plot against the Serbs, the genocide syndrome attempted by the Turks and the pro-Nazi Ustashis, and the risk of the Balkans being penetrated by Islam. And the West's threats do not even seem to touch him.

[Atropia] Do you regard the United Nations as an enemy of the Serbs?

[Karadzic] Perhaps one day the United Nations will really be a force for peace, but at the moment it is openly siding with the Muslims. The UN plenipotentiary, Akashi, cannot tie our hands when we have to defend ourselves and decide for ourselves; he is not the chief of staff of our army.

[Atropia] Why did the Serbs take the Blue Helmets hostage?

[Karadzic] The UN leaders have turned the Blue Helmets into an active part of the clash. What is more, Akashi cannot be neutral on the ground and our enemy in the air. I am talking about the dispatch of fighter bombers....

[Atropia] Why do the Serbs continue to reject the peace plans proposed by the international community?

[Karadzic] Because they have been drawn up in such a way as to be rejected. Their purpose was to be rejected. The Germans and part of the U.S. State Department are to blame. To tell the truth, we have accepted two peace plans: the Lisbon plan and the one known as the Owen-Stoltenberg plan but, under American influence, the Muslims rejected them both, because part of America did not want the war to end. Indeed, this war is weakening Europe and hindering its consolidation as a federation. This is a good thing for Germany, which is setting itself up as a leader in Europe. Then it must be borne in mind that there are two Americas. For example, there is a lobby in the U.S. State Department that supports Germany. It is a very strong lobby, in view of the number of Germans in America. The pro-German American lobbies have always supported Germany and Turkey in order to prevent the consolidation of Europe.

[Atropia] Is there a Serbian peace plan ready as an alternative to the one proposed by the Contact Group made up of the United States, Russia, Germany, France, and Britain?

[Karadzic] We are entitled to have a state of our own, not least because it already exists. Any plan that denies this de facto state of affairs is condemned to rejection

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by us. If we began talking on the basis of a plan that recognized our territory, two or three states would be recognized, but the form of the links between them is not important for the time being. The crucial matter is the percentages of land to be adjudicated to each state. This ought to be the result of a new peace conference, not a prerequisite. However, it is not the size of a territory that counts, but its value.

[Atropia] The Serbs say that the media have demonized them. What do they mean when they say this?

[Karadzic] We have lost the news war, and we know it. But we did not start this war, as they all claim. The disintegration of the former Yugoslavia took us by surprise, and we had no major agency that could work for us. The war in Bosnia comes from afar, and we will not cease to be criminalized until the blame for the war is clear in the mind of the West. We are now waiting for the Vatican, at least, to recognize us, because there are forces in the Vatican that sympathize fully with us.

[Atropia] The Croats and Muslims accuse you of unleashing the war. According to the Bosnian Serbs, who is to blame for the war?

[Karadzic] Germany without a doubt, and some circles in America as well, in particular the U.S. lobbies that are under the influence of the Germans and the Islamic states. Often, when we were close to settling the crisis, someone persuaded the Muslims to reject the peace deals. The splitting up of the former Yugoslavia has been a great mistake. Within the federation, Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia were already almost autonomous. But there was major international interest in splitting up the federation. Now they do not just want to weaken the Serbs; there is a strategy that sets out to weaken the other Balkan peoples as well. The Balkan states that lack self-sufficiency would be forced to buy European products. Our countries would not be regarded as partners in Europe, but merely as servants. This is a very dangerous policy, and we do not accept it. When the war is over, we will privatize everything. Unification with the Krajina and Milosevic's Serbia would be a touchstone for our economy, because we could use the trading channels of the old federation. After privatization, our interest rates will be very low, between 8 and 12 percent, and this will attract foreign businessmen. Despite the embargo imposed by the international community and the fact that Serbia is consequently boycotting us, our economy is still flourishing: We have immense forests, and we will begin building new plants to exploit hydroelectric power on the River Drina.

[Atropia] Is Russia, with all its problems, still in a position to support the Serbs?

[Karadzic] No one except God is helping the Serbs, because Russian diplomats have been used to exert pressure on us, not to help us. However, our relations with Russian diplomacy have improved a bit now. Nevertheless, a distinction has to be drawn between Russian diplomacy and the Russian nation. They are two different things, and we are on good terms with major Russian structures.

[Atropia] What could Italy do to help settle the Bosnian crisis? What mistakes do you think Italy has made regarding the war in Bosnia?

[Karadzic] Italy must resume its role in Europe and stand up to the excessive power wielded by Germany. We think that Italy, along with London and Paris, can become a key nation in Europe. I hope with all my heart that Italy will be the first country to recognize us. Only recognition of the Serbian Republic in the immediate future can halt the war. It would urge the Muslim government to make peace as well, because Izetbegovic has always promised his people the whole of Bosnia. If the Serbian Republic of Bosnia were recognized, the Muslims would have an excuse for stopping as well.

[Atropia] Sarajevo is the most important of the areas under UN protection. What does Sarajevo represent for the Serbs? Why is the city so fiercely contested?

[Karadzic] Sarajevo was a Serbian city, because it was founded in Serb-majority territory, and even now it has neighborhoods that are entirely Serbian. We are not besieging it, we are defending our territory. Sarajevo is our second city after Belgrade. Be that as it may, we do not want to turn it into an ethnically pure city. It could perfectly well be converted into a dual municipality. Anyway, we will never give up our part of Sarajevo, although we can show cooperation by fostering the creation of two cities.

[Atropia] What, in the Serbs' view, is the threat presented by a Muslim state in the Balkans?

[Karadzic] That a line of penetration for Islamic terrorism is created in Europe. As a religion, Islam has something warlike about it, it has always fomented a struggle against other religions. The fundamentalists would like the whole world to be Islam-ized. In its own interests, Europe should have supported dividing Bosnia into two states, one Serbian and the other Croatian, because what Izetbegovic wants is a state created on the basis of religion, not nationality. Once upon a time, Bosnia was a Catholic or Orthodox land. When the Turks arrived in Bosnia, some of the Serbs embraced Islam. Basically, the Muslims are Serbs as well. We are a single people, but the differences have become radicalized, and the war has increased the distance between us. If the Muslims

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do not want to live with us now, they can perfectly well live with the Croats, with whom they have formed an alliance, just like at the time of World War II. Bosnia has to be divided now, but we will not give any of our territory up.

Gen Mladic Views Taking of Srebrenica

AU2407205395 Belgrade SVET in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jul 95 p 1

[Interview with Ratko Mladic, Bosnian Serb military commander, by Zeljko Markovic in Pale; date not given: "By Fall, We Shall Take Zepa, Gorazde, Bihac, and Finally Sarajevo, and Bring the War in Bosnia to a Close!!!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] When I visited Pale for the third time this weekend, I did not get the impression that the capital of the Serb Republic reminds one of "Twin Peaks, a small town full of paranoid murderers," as it was described by a journalist in the latest issue of the American NEWSWEEK. The atmosphere of unusual serenity and peace, without overly euphoria because of the taking of Srebrenica by Serb forces, is the basic characteristic of the mood in Pale these days. I met the commander of the Army of the Serb Republic, General Ratko Mladic, immediately after the Srebrenica operation, so, in our conversation, we did not refer to the subsequent events surrounding Zepa.

[Markovic] Mr. General, why did your army launch the latest offensive aimed at taking of Srebrenica, and were you aware of possible consequences for you from the international community?

[Mladic] The taking of Srebrenica was a sheer military action that the Army of the Serb Republic should have taken a long time ago. Everybody knows, and it can be confirmed by the Dutch soldiers, that, in the past month, the Muslim army was launching actions and attacks from that enclave against Serb civilians in the area around Srebrenica. In the past several days alone, we had 10 or so dead civilians who were killed by Muslim soldiers from Srebrenica. If that is, as it is said, a safe zone, then there are no military or human reasons to attack and kill Serb civilians from such a zone and to have the criminals return to the safety of the safe area after such actions.

[Markovic] How many casualties did the Serb Army sustain in that operation?

[Mladic] Very few. There was almost no resistance. I can say freely that the civilians were happy to see us coming, since they had had enough of living in the closed enclave, far from their fellow citizens. The Muslim troops and police offered weak resistance, and the majority of them immediately took their uniforms off and changed into plain clothes in order to mix in with the civilians. We are interrogating such people now in Potocari and Bratunac, and all those that we establish did not commit any war crimes against Serb civilians will be released to go to central Bosnia, just like the other civilians.

[Markovic] And what about those whose innocence is not proven?

[Mladic] They will be tried according to the laws of the Serb Republic.

[Markovic] In what way were the civilians treated?

[Mladic] The first group of civilians has already been transferred to the demarcation line in the direction of Kladanj, and I believe they have already safely arrived in Muslim territory.

[Markovic] What will happen now in Srebrenica?

[Mladic] What do you mean, what will happen? What has to happen will happen! We shall establish the authority of the Serb Republic and restore normal life. We have said that all civilians who want to stay there can stay. This applies to UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] troops as well.

[Markovic] The civilians, however, have chosen to go.

[Mladic] Well, that is also normal. Birds of a feather flock together.

[Markovic] How will you act if the UN Security Council approves NATO's use of force to expel the Serbs from Srebrenica, if it comes to a new bombardment?

[Mladic] We shall not leave Srebrenica ever again, and no Security Council or NATO can make us do so. Srebrenica has been Serb territory for ages, and it will remain so. Why did not they compel the Croats to withdraw from western Slavonia after their aggression? As for NATO aircraft, we have already got used to them, we have got used to their bombarding us as well. None of their air strikes can harm us. This is our land, and we are familiar with every single inch of it. Neither aircraft, nor bombs can change that!

[Markovic] How did the Dutch UNPROFOR soldiers react when you treated them with champagne at their camp in Potocari?

[Mladic] They were happy, just like me. They were also fed up with life in that "safe area." They told me they had had a lot of trouble with the Muslim police and their gangs, who looted everything all over the place. They were happy that we came.

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[Markovic] Let us recall one month earlier, when the issue of UNPROFOR soldiers taken prisoner by the Serbs was topical. What is your view of the event?

[Mladic] That was an unpleasant situation, but it was, unfortunately, the only way to make it clear to Europe and the world that they cannot shell Serbian civilians and hospitals whenever somebody feels like doing so.

[Markovic] Did you contact Mr. Stanisic, chief of the State Security Service of Serbia, during the negotiations on the soldiers' release?

[Mladic] Yes, I did.

[Markovic] Can you tell me some more about those contacts of yours?

[Mladic] No! I am an officer, and I know that there are certain things that are not discussed for newspapers.

[Markovic] Since when have you known Stanisic?

[Mladic] We have known each other from Belgrade. He is a great professional, an honorable man and real patriot.

[Markovic] Are the stories true, according to which Stanisic, when he came to Pale, said to Karadzic: "Radovan, Milosevic is sending you word that, if you do not release them, something really bad will happen to you!"

[Mladic] I do not want to comment on such stories and gossip.

[Markovic] What are your personal relations with Karadzic like?

[Mladic] Normal and correct. What are the relations between the president of the republic and the Army commander supposed to be like?

[Markovic] It is being rumored that at the meeting of the Assembly of the Serbian Republic in Sanski Most you severely criticized Karadzic and demanded that he give the Army full freedom of action?

[Mladic] I repeat that I do not want to discuss what is being rumored, what one has said to the other, and such things. I had certain objections regarding work performed by the civil authorities, but it is normal that in any state or system there are polemics. All misunderstandings have been cleared up, and the Army and the state are now working and acting as one.

[Markovic] Recently, before his arrest, Seselj stated that at a secret meeting at Milosevic's Radovan Stojcic Badza had ordered you to carry out a coup in the Serbian Republic.

[Mladic] That is not true.

[Markovic] What are your relations with Milosevic like?

[Mladic] Correct. He has done a lot for the entire Serbian people, and I hope that disputes between our two leaderships will be overcome soon.

[Markovic] In his interview for TIME, Milosevic said that you were the only person in the Serbian Republic's leadership who was exempt from the treatment of suspended relations, and that he saw you whenever you came to Belgrade.

[Mladic] I am not familiar with any such statement of his. But if he said so, then he thinks so. My family is in Belgrade, and I often go there to see them.

[Markovic] After everything that happened, how do you view the case of pilot O'Grady?

[Mladic] We did not have any reason to detain that pilot. We were satisfied to see his aircraft, by which Serbian objectives could have been bombarded, downed. We did not need the pilot.

[Markovic] Do you want to say that you knew his whereabouts?

[Mladic] I have told you what I wanted to say.

[Markovic] There have been many speculations regarding your absence from the wedding of Sonja Karadzic, daughter of the president of the Serbian Republic. Why were none of the military commanders present at the wedding?

[Mladic] I can only speak on my behalf. I am generally not fond of such celebrations or parties, regardless of who is in question. Since we had a family tragedy, since our Ana [his daughter] is gone, I think it is normal that I avoid parties, and that any other answer would be superfluous.

[Markovic] How do you personally view the border at the Drina?

[Mladic] How do you think a real Serb could view it at all? Why are you asking me such questions at all? That horrible division has been the greatest blow in my life. Therefore I think that the Serbs will do anything to have that blockade lifted. We have had enough of war, not because we are afraid or tired, but because we have seen so many terrible things in the past three years. The goal of both the leadership and the people of the Serbian Republic is to bring the war to a close, to have the blockade on the Drina lifted, and to start reconstructing our country.

[Markovic] What ought to be done to achieve that?

[Mladic] First, the West should understand something: That the Serbs cannot be bombarded without taking

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consequences for that, that the Serbs cannot be forced into herds, that nobody can invent maps for us that will carve up and parcel out our Serbian land that has existed for centuries, and that a compact territory has to be given to us in which we can function normally like a state.

At the same time, the Muslims must understand that the unitary Bosnia with Sarajevo as its capital from which Alija Izetbegovic would govern cannot be and will never be. They have to observe cease-fires. They must not attack Serbian villages or civilians from their "safe areas," or else they will have another Srebrenica. If they fail to understand this, if they continue behaving like this, by fall we shall take all those enclaves in eastern Bosnia, that is, Zepa, Gorazde, and we shall also take Bihac, and if necessary even Sarajevo as well, and thereby bring this war to a close. If, after three years of warfare against Serbs, it is still not clear to the Muslims that they are not able to defeat us on the battlefield, then it is a great tragedy for their people, and their leaders will be responsible for the deaths of additional hundreds and hundreds of young men who are recklessly storming our positions and being killed like flies. I wish you could see how it looked during their latest offensive around Sarajevo. Their soldiers were falling dead in clusters in front of our trenches. The Serbs know what they are fighting for. They know that they are defending their land, and for that reason they are invincible.

[Markovic] How is your army getting supplied with fuel and spare parts for arms and armored vehicles? Has that not become a problem for you since the imposition of the blockade at the Drina?

[Mladic] Yes, it is a great problem. Nevertheless, there are always different ways of dealing with it. Still, we are certainly in a much more difficult position than the other two sides in the conflict. The Croats are getting arms from Croatia without problems. The Muslims are being supplied by Arabs and Turkey, and they are getting arms through secret UNPROFOR channels as well....

[Markovic] It is being rumored that trade is blooming, that Serbs themselves are selling arms to Muslims. Rumors also say that Srbobran is the main center for that, and that the forces of the 5th Corps in Bihac are being supplied by smugglers from the Republic of Serbian Krajina....

[Mladic] Unfortunately, I have to say that such occurrences accompany any war. There are also such Serbs who care more about money, expensive cars, or villas, than about their people, so they are selling arms to the enemy by which he will be killing their brothers later. In any war there are such examples, but we are making efforts to severely deal with such occurrences wherever they come forth and punish people involved in such activities.

[Markovic] In Serbia the forced mobilization of refugees has caused great outrage. How many draftees have been recruited in your army in such a way so far, and is it true that they are being sent on the front without previous training?

[Mladic] Any man who flees and leaves his elderly parents and neighbors to defend his home from the enemy is a miserable human wretch, and there is no more to be said about it. Those who have been sent back to us from Serbia, who fled across the Drina to smuggle goods and acquire fortune there while their brothers were being killed here, will be deployed in units according to our war scheme. It is not true that they are being sent on the front without previous training. Nobody in the Army of the Serbian Republic has ever been sent on the front without training. They are attending regular training, while those who we think will not be of much use on the front can serve the Army and the people as good as those on the front. They can peel potatoes in the rear.... There is enough work for everybody.

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Zagreb Threatens To Intervene in Bihac

LD2407210895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2045 GMT 24 Jul 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New York, July 24 (TANJUG)—Croatia threatened in a letter to the United Nations to intervene in the conflict in the area of Bihac, a [word indistinct] enclave in northwestern Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The letter of Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic to the U.N. Security Council was published Monday as an official U.N. document a mere two days after an accord between the Croatian authorities and the authorities of Bosnian Muslims on Croatia's urgent military assistance, especially in the area of Bihac, was reached.

Croatia accepted at a meeting in the Adriatic port city of Split the formal request of the Muslim leadership and representatives of the Muslim-Croat Federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina to extend urgent military assistance, although it sent last week, according to the United Nations, some 1,600 troops in the direction of the Bihac pocket.

Granic accused the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, apart from the Bosnian and Krajina Serbs, of alleged involvement in the fighting around Bihac. These accusations have become an obligatory part of Croatia's propaganda in seeking an excuse for the presence of Croatia's Army in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Granic Warns Against Serb Attacks on Bihac

BR2407142495 Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA in Spanish 21 Jul 95 p 6

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister Mate Granic by Ricardo Estarriol in Zagreb; date not given: "Bosnian Croats Are Prepared To Fight To Break Through Sarajevo Encirclement"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zagreb—*Croatian Deputy Prime Minister Mate Granic, who has held his post since September 1992 and subsequently also became foreign minister, has always shown himself dissatisfied with the mission carried out by the Blue Helmets in the former Yugoslavia.*

The three conditions upon which his government made conditional the extension of the UN troops' mandate in Croatia were the following: a cease-fire in Krajina, the implementation of the UN Security Council's resolutions on Croatia, and the division of the mandate itself into three distinct parts.

The fall of the Srebrenica and Zepa Bosnian enclaves and the threat now posed to the Gorazde enclave have radically changed the situation for Croatia, which is not indifferent to the fate of Croats in Bosnia, because the new situation gives rise to new problems. Croatia is even more deeply affected by the possible outcome of the current Serb offensive against another Bosnian enclave near the Croatian border—the Bihac enclave.

Croatian Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Mate Granic, who was just back from a difficult mission in Moscow and in the midst of preparations for a Croatian-Bosnian summit, confirmed the fact that Croatia had no intention of intervening militarily in Croatia's occupied areas as long as the mandate of UNCRO (UN Forces in Croatia) was in force.

[Granic] This is our basic position, and, as long as this mandate is in force, Croatia will attempt to negotiate via UNCRO with the Croatian Serbs. Of course, future developments in Bosnia-Herzegovina will influence the situation in Croatia. In the first place, because of the massive influx of refugees into the Federation's territory. Second, if the Serbs continue their attacks against the Bihac safe area, the situation will change even more. We do not want to carry out any military actions, but you must be aware of how many Muslims the Serbs can expel from Bihac into Croatia. We are very concerned and are using all of our diplomatic strength to inform the international community about this possibility.

[Estarriol] Your Bosnian counterpart, Sacirbey, recently said in Washington that the UN mandate in Bosnia had come to an end. Could Croatia conceivably say the same thing about UNCRO's mandate, if the same thing happens in Bihac (as happened in Srebrenica and Zepa)?

[Granic] We are not at all satisfied with the implementation of UNCRO's mandate, but, in general terms, the situation is much more stable in Croatia's occupied territories than in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In any case, our final decision will be made when UNCRO's current mandate expires. We will now use other means of ensuring that the mandate works effectively, particularly with regard to controlling the international borders between Croatia and Bosnia, because yesterday, as you know, the Serbs launched a powerful attack on Bihac from the occupied areas in Croatia.

[Estarriol] At the beginning of the summer, the government army began an offensive in Sarajevo that has now practically ground to a halt. I have been told by well-informed sources that this offensive was not successful because the Bosnian Croats withheld their support.

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[Granic] The main problem is that the Muslims have no heavy weapons. But I am convinced that, if the Federation made the decision to open up an exit corridor from Sarajevo, the (Bosnian) Croats would take part in such an action. As a matter of fact, we are now making intense preparations for a meeting between Presidents Tudjman and Izetbegovic. The meeting will take place a few days from now on Brioni Island—on Saturday, 22 July, to be precise. We will discuss the general situation in the region and the implementation of the Federation.

Prime Minister Valentic Defends New Tax

LD2407232495

[FBIS Editorial Report] Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian at 1805 GMT on 24 July carries a 90-minute live interview with Croatian Prime Minister Nikica Valentic. Reception is good.

The program starts with the presenter asking the prime minister what the latest government's ruling on the solidarity savings for reconstruction [solidarna stednja za obnovu] contains.

In response, the prime minister says that huge funds are necessary for the reconstruction of the economy and war-ravaged property. For this, the introduction of a new tax is necessary in the shape of taxing the highest earners—those earning over 2,500 kunas, which is only 10 percent of the Croatian population.

He says further that his government is to persist in ensuring that the state budget is well balanced; no money will be issued to cover any budgetary deficits. In this connection, Valentic says:

"It is impossible to have a stable currency if you have a budgetary deficit and an unbalanced budget. Unfortunately, a well-balanced budget alone is not sufficient for an economically stable country, but it is sufficient for a government program to fail if its budget is not well balanced. We have not given up, nor are we going to give up such a budget."

At 1820 GMT, Valentic speaks at length about criticisms directed against this ruling and says that they are all unsubstantiated and unjustified.

Valentic then goes on to speak about the process of privatization of Croatian industry.

At 1825 GMT, Valentic says he is not going to be a populist politician who promises what he cannot achieve. He goes on to say:

"Today Croatia has a stable convertible currency. Our foreign currency reserves amount to $3 billion; our exports and imports are on the increase."

Speaking about Croatia's tax system, Valentic says:

"Our taxes are 15 percent higher than those in the neighboring states. Our budgetary expenditures on defense, reconstruction, and security—direct consequences of the war—amount to 20 percent of the GNP. States that we are competing with spend 2 percent or even 1.5 percent on this. These are our facts. We have to state very clearly what our state priorities are and why we cannot achieve certain things."

At 1835 GMT, Valentic speaks about the scepter of inflation hanging over Croatia if the government's program fails. Valentic then speaks at length about what the situation was before the program was introduced.

Valentic dwells on the principles of a free market economy: what they entail and how important it is to complete the privatization process.

The prime minister also speaks at length about the government's expenditures on hospitality. He says that taking foreign partners out for dinners is a tedious task and that he does not enjoy the free meals.

Valentic then expostulates on the government's policies on agriculture and the situation in the Croatian farming industry.

Valentic says that farmers from Herzegovina will be glad to know that they will be able to export vegetables to Croatia in a more regulated way. A viewer from Rijeka phones in:

[Viewer] "I am calling from Rijeka, although I have an example I have received from my Zagreb colleagues. A free-lance journalist from Zagreb, whose sole source of income is journalism, has to pay a 30-percent deduction for every amount, not just over the 2,500 kunas mark. Hence, the net amount, say 1,500 kuna, he loses 60 percent of this amount, so he receives 400 kunas."

[Valentic] "This is not so; you got it wrong. First, we have not provided any explanation of the ruling, just its basis, an explanation is to follow and suchlike. There is nothing to fear, there are no such extreme cases..."

[Presenter, interrupts] "You are going to take this into account..."

[Valentic, continues] "Unless the first question, you see, the first question, the ruling is not decisive. Believe me, it is, after all, a means to a certain strategic goal. By way of alleviating your anxiety, no need for fear, even if the ruling or a law is endorsed you are going to pay for over the amount of 2,500 kuna for a 30-percent difference."

[Viewer] "But I am not in professional employment."

[Valentic] "What if your monthly income were 100,000 kunas?"

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[Viewer] "That is OK, I mean over 2,500, that is OK to pay 30 percent."

[Valentic] "I say, over 2,500."

[Viewer] "We have been informed that every kuna..."

[Valentic, interrupts] "No, mister, this is why I am telling you there are various interpretations, various well-intentioned interpretations. We have strong principles in this, over 2,500 kunas, provided it passes. I repeat, if there is a tax then we shall see how."

The presenter notes that the Musicians Union has the same criticism of the ruling. Some critics say the government should have announced the ruling in advance. Another viewer wants to know why a wider selection of alcoholic beverages is not included under high-taxation bands. Valentic says that his government is taking steps in this direction. A viewer believes that someone is skimming interest rates on the funds earmarked for the war veterans' funds. He cites a long string of current accounts and official documents on this matter. Valentic says that his government is extremely busy, but he is willing nevertheless to examine the viewer's documentation.

A viewer speculates that the draft ruling might not win a majority in the parliament. Valentic says that, if that takes places, an alternative source of finance has to be found. He believes that pay cuts are the lesser evil compared to inflation. He is determined to keep inflation as low as possible.

A viewer from Germany says that Valentic's policy reminds him of Germany's taxation policy regarding the restructuring of former eastern Germany's economy.

A viewer complains that his salary is consistently delaved by one month. Valentic says the kuna is convertible, although it will never be listed with the world's stock exchanges. He does not enjov the perks associated with his post.

The interview ends at 1935 GMT.

Tax Called 'Plunder' of Citizens

AU2107090495 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Jul 95 p 4

[Commentary by Danko Plevnik: "Fiscal Massacre"]

[FBIS Translated Text] All those who can count could have expected that the time will come for the bills to be paid, not only for the reasonable expenses of Operation Lightning and the restoration of the sixth category [not further specified], but also for the gorgeous military parades, luxurious receptions, and trips in the Rockefeller style. It also could be expected that all this would be paid for through the rebalance of the budget. Those who know well how the Croatian executive authorities think, also knew that the rebalance would not be carried out through the reduction of the expenditures of particular ministeries, as was announced. That simply would not have been in the spirit of the government which mostly thinks of ways to reduce, and not increase, the earnings of the citizens. Those who have mostly used their inventiveness to create taxes on taxes, annual taxes, and so on, could not have been at peace with anybody in Croatia having a single kuna remaining in his pocket without their knowledge and control. They have created yet another catastrophic precedent in the modern world, offering the Regulation on Solidarity Saving to the "imprisoned citizens."

According to that regulation, all citizens who earn more than 2,500 kunas would have 30 percent of their income withheld for the sake of defense and restoration, with the intention of creating a mandatory "stock exchange," since next year the citizens could transform these forced savings into "most valuable shares" of the Privatization Fund. This sequestration of the private property of Croatian citizens, this legal theft from private wallets, is the culmination of the arrogance of Valentic's government.

Market Coupons

This regulation is practically a farewell to the free market in Croatia, because: What can people undertake freely if consumption is in the hands of the executive power, which rules Croatia as a sort of a penitentiary where everybody is treated as a delinquent and where it is forbidden to have more that the state-allowed pocket money? The assertion that by this regulation 85 percent of wages will be saved is an unprecedented irony. Well, of course 85 percent of wages will not be involved in that regulation, since the people who earn those wages have already been robbed of everything they could have been robbed of.

The tragedy of this regulation is not the introduction of "market coupons," but in the conviction that 2,500 kunas is the optimal sum for living for a decent human being in Croatia. The architects of this mathematics do not acknowledge the need to buy books, foreign magazines, shirts, heating material, sanitary napkins, toothpaste, soap.... The Croatian state was created under the motto that it will be better to its citizens than the Yugoslav state was, and that it will be cheaper. Until now that has not come true. The "state builders" believe that they are responsible to no one if they use "the state" to cover their actions, shamelessly running up debts, counting on what they do not even have, because they

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know that eventually they will always be able to rip off the citizens and get away with it.

The rebalance of the budget is not carried out through the reduction of the state's expenses, which cannot militarily be as strong as the United States; instead it is carried out by limiting the significance and style of the economic life of Croatian citizens in their own homeland. This regulation also uncovers the lie about the existence of an "expatriate Croatia," because if the "expatriate Croatia" existed, then this regulation would have to apply to the citizens of "expatriate Croatia" as well. But there is no "expatriate Croatia," there are only expatriate Croats, who are protected by foreign, non-Croatian authorities from such dictatorial acts. It is not easy to know that the Croats in Croatia, in their own country, are the least protected ones; and they will start leaving Croatia again precisely because of such behavior by Croatian authorities toward their citizens. One can expect the emigration of Croatian intelligentsia to increase instead of decrease, because there are few "useful fools" who will, for the rest of their days, want to work more and more for less and less money which they eventually use, since on the free market the state knows how to do that much better!?

People used to be robbed in a similar way under socialism too, but in those times you had to have the referendum first. And what happened afterwards? The divine government established that all that had been taken away from the working people in the dark times of the old regime belongs to the state or to the Fund for Privatization!? That is what will happen to this "solidarity contribution" as well: Your money—our property. The platitude that the money collected in such a Franjo Tahijevski [16th century Hungarian nobleman, whose demand for high taxes sparked a major peasant uprising] manner will exclusively be used for defense and restoration is more than transparent, since clear data on defense expenses have never been submitted to the public. How is it possible that, according to some educational officials, the authors of the articles in the book "Homeland Education" get fees of 5,000 German marks each, and yet the very same budget has no means to pay even minimum fees to other authors? Croatia is not and must not be a source of profit for anybody. It is easy to speak about "state building" with other people's money.

Here one is primarily speaking of the money of the so-called middle class, which is dying. This regulation is an attack on the remains of the Croatian middle class. It initiates the process of a total devastation of Croatia's human capital, which is the most important resource of the Croatian economy, because nowhere else in the world do expert surgeons and engineers agree to work for such miserable salaries as in Croatia. Patriotism and its dignity have limits too. The middle class is being fiscally massacred, and only they could have cleared the space for classes with lower earnings. The Croatian Government, instead of expanding the middle class, destroys it, producing the levelling from the textbook of bolshevism.

Life-Style

The Croatian Government cannot convincingly defend itself by saying that this regulation includes government members as well, since that will by no means radically influence their life-style. Namely, an honest doctor cannot fly to Wimbeldon or to the world handball championships at the state's expense. The dogma about war would have to be valid for everyone or no one, because if in the process of "transformation" million values had been paid for by million sums, and not by false or miserable sums, there would be enough money for real development now. [sentence as published] Instead, in this way the "state highwaymen" allow themselves to destroy the very substance of Croatian society, the core of the "Croatian software." [previous word in English] One need not be a great economist to realize that these measures will have an extremely negative and depressing impact on the increase of productivity. And without a further increase of productivity, this government will simply not be in the position to plunder anybody any more. Or maybe this underestimates the imagination of the government? This government, as it seems, does not shrink from anything, and it might easily "economize" and rationalize even the introduction of dictatorship. That would be the final consequence of this hazardous domino game.

After the working class has been pushed aside and expropriated, it has now obviously become the turn of the middle class. And 9,000 farmers are waiting to come out onto the streets with tractors and block the road links in Croatia, because they have been economically destroyed. So what is the only class that can live in Croatia? Only the very small politocratic class! If the parliament passes this regulation, that will be the most concrete proof that Croats can indeed be ruled by anyone and in any way. It seems that in the Europe of today it is easiest to saddle and ride on the Croats. And that at the same time when "Croatian-ness" is pronounced to be the paramount social ideal!

Progress Made in Relations With Slovenia

LD2107180795 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 21 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Here is Milivoje Valencic reporting for Croatian radio from Rijeka:

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Croatian and Slovene Government delegations led by Prime Ministers Nikica Valentic and Janez Drnovsek met in Rijeka this afternoon. At a news conference, they underlined progress made in Croatian-Slovene political and economic relations. This applies specifically to the issues of the Krsko power plant, the legal ownership and the status of Slovene holiday accommodation and businesses in Croatia. They will continue to have the same status as before. Attention was drawn to an increase in the flow of goods between two neighboring and friendly countries, which will increase even more next year.

Prime Ministers Valentic and Drnovsek mentioned the issues of the precise delineation of state borders, specifically in the Piran bay, and servicing of the former Ljubljanska Banka Zagreb debt to Croatian savers as the main unresolved issues. An agreement on these issues has not yet been reached, but correspondents were told that the talks between the Croatian and Slovene Government delegations would continue tonight and tomorrow morning. The outstanding issues will be resolved in an atmosphere of tolerance and there will be no incidents, Prime Ministers Valentic and Drnovsek stressed.

The Croatian prime minister added that he would like to head the Croatian Government until the next general elections in order to resolve all outstanding issues between Croatia and Slovenia by then. Nikica Valentic said the next general election would be held in May or June 1996.

Ownership of Krsko Plant Resolved

LD2307204495 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 23 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Nikica Valentic and Janez Drnovsek, prime ministers of the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Slovenia, respectively, held a concluding round of talks in Opatija today. The Slovene prime minister has spent three days on the Opatija riviera as the guest of the Croatian prime minister. Their meetings and talks were very exhaustive and useful, both prime ministers concluded. [passage omitted]

A great job was done immediately prior to the talks by Industry Minister Nadan Vidosevic and his Slovene counterpart Maks Kajnikar. The key issue of ownership of the nuclear power plant in Krsko has been resolved. The nuclear power plant will, in the future, operate as a share-holding limited company; Slovene and Croatian partners will have an equal share in the company. The two sides have also agreed to draw up a joint program for the closure of the plant after its operational life has ended; both sides have taken on an obligation to build a nuclear waste disposal facility by the year 2007. The outstanding issue is the possible construction of a joint nuclear power plant in Croatia, which was envisaged by agreements signed back in the 1970's, in which Slovenia does not wish to take part [passage omitted]

However, two key issues remain unresolved, two outstanding issues that has burdened mutual relations most since the two countries gained independence. These are the debt by Ljubljanska Banka to its depositors in Croatia and the border issue. Both problems are of particular political importance and therefore, it is not surprising that Prime Ministers Valentic and Drnovsek were very reserved in their statements on their possible settlement. However, it seems that the solution of these two issues will determine the future of some already agreed upon interstate treaties. More will be known about all this most probably after the two prime ministers meet again in September.

Article Insists RRF Deploy Only in Bosnia

AU2407204595 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jul 95 p 5

[Article by Bruno Lopandic: "Rapid Reaction Forces—To Croatia!?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "I am against the employment of the Rapid Reaction Force [RRF] in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Those forces should be deployed entirely in Croatia. Had this been done before, western Slavonia would not have happened." These words, uttered by General Bernard Janvier, commander of the UN mission in the former Yugoslavia, should perhaps be the best way to begin the story about the role of the Rapid Reaction Force, the story which has gotten into full swing.

Officially formed to protect UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] members and smooth the way for them to efficiently carry out their mandate, those special forces slowly begin to get contours of their real role. It is by no means a coincidence that the entire issue has been covered by a veil of secrecy from the very beginning, deprived of any legal and specific information. The forces, by the initiative of the donor countries, have been "pushed in" past any UN resolution, to be, later on, at least formally, integrated into UNPROFOR units. Regardless of the lack or inadequacy of information from diplomatic sources, the knot started to untie a little. The fierce reaction from official Paris, according to which Kresimir Zubak obstructs the functioning of the RRF, has uncovered a lot. It turned out that, namely, the commanders of those forces did not like at all Zubak's insisting on announcing movements four days in advance. Besides entirely reliable and confirmed information that the RRF demands its deployment on Mt. Dinara (Zubak's

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refusal made them particularly angry), secret, but well-informed sources say that the representatives of "the rapid forces" asked to be deployed, apart from Ploce, also to the Croatian Army base in Divulje.

The deployment of the forces in Croatia or in parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina controlled by the Croats is a skillful intention to additionally freeze the present state of matters. Among the political heads of the West the obsession circulates that any military advance of the Croatian Army, the HVO [Croatian Defense Council], and the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina must be stopped. Well, take a look at the map of the planned deployment and everything will be clear to you, one of the high UN officials, who wanted to remain anonymous at all costs, has told us.

The accusations of the obstruction addressed to the Croats only attests to the planned inefficiency of the RRF. The story about the financial nature of the problem and about the nonacceptance of signing the additional agreement with the forces because that would mean the recognition of Herzeg-Bosnia (as the United Nations claims), simply cannot hold. Although a part of the force is within the structure of the United Nations, intelligence sources say that some of those contingents have certain ambitions completely out of the UN mandate.

Those forces are not exactly a choir, a diplomatic source says. The issue of the RRF status is also a serious problem, because the United Nations, by not accepting an additional agreement, insists on the stand that the RRF is part of SOFA (State of Force Agreement), an agreement signed with the United Nations by Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The figures themselves (without the information about insisting on deployment of the forces on Mt. Dinara and in Split) tell us that, within that context, we can talk about the question of Croatian sovereignty. When we add it all up, it turns out that the number of UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia] and Rapid Reaction Forces in Croatia would be around 20,000, and in Bosnia-Herzegovina 23,000. Inefficient UNCRO together with the national forces in that number in Croatia, and a completely rearranged UNPROFOR with an additional 4,000 "rapid" soldiers in Bosnia-Herzegovina, leave enough space for precaution and suspicion about the real arrival of the RRF. Everything will be clear when they start reacting, but also if they do not react.

[Box, p 5]

Dr. Ivan Simonovic, Croatian Foreign Minister's Assistant: There Is No Doubt—Only to Bosnia

The Republic of Croatia has supported the arrival of the RRF, hoping that thus the United Nations in Bosnia would finally "get some teeth" and become efficient. Meanwhile, concerning how on the basis of Security Council Resolution 998 (1995) lits authority—meaning the area of its activity—has been interpreted in a variety of ways, we have requested through diplomatic channels to have it explained more precisely. According to the last official interpretations, there is no place for any doubt: the RRF is authorized to act in the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina and is only transiting Croatia, regarding the corresponding consent given by the Republic of Croatia, Dr. Ivan Simonovic, assistant to the foreign minister, told us.

Croatia, which has suffered aggression, and part of its territory is still under occupation; Croatia, which has given its consent to the presence of the international forces in its territory, can and must take care of its sovereignty. States are sovereign precisely because they maintain their sovereign rights.

Accusations that the Republic of Croatia, by asking to charge certain expenses for the RRF's arrival, prevents or postpones its arrival, have a double role: to lessen the financial expenses at the expense of Croatia, and even more important, to create an alibi for possible inefficiency and blame somebody else for it. On this occasion, as well, Croatia is ready to cooperate, but taking care of its sovereign rights and interests. Croatia is ready to offer a welcome to the RRF, but for how long and under what conditions is to be determined in an agreement, Dr. Simonovic holds.

NATO Base Rumored Near Dubrovnik

95BA0290A Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 23 Jun 95 pp 8-9

[Article by Vladimir Jovanovic: "NATO in Dubrovnik"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to confirmed reports, three high-ranking U.S. Air Force officers have spent the past few weeks in Dubrovnik on a mission to check out the tactical and technical status of the takeoff and landing strips and support structures at the Dubrovnik airport (in Cilipi), which will soon become part of the logistical support program for Rapid Reaction Force in Bosnia. Regardless of whether it is these or other motives that are at play, the mission of the U.S. officers at Dubrovnik airport could have far-reaching consequences for the balance of power and the development of military pretensions in the overall

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southern Adriatic region, which is an issue of immediate interest to Montenegro, among other things. In that regard, what are the military strategic implications of giving the Cilipi airport a function in the goals of the Western military alliance?

In terms of support for the as yet undefined Rapid Reaction Force in Bosnia, Cilipi airport will be at the midpoint between possible large bases in locations in central Bosnia and the NATO military base on the Italian coast (Gioia del Colle), or even further south—the command center in Naples and the base in Sigenola, Sicily. Thus, Cilipi could be a position at which not only logistical materiel for ground forces in Bosnia, but also fuel reserves could be located, i.e., a service center for refueling NATO aircraft; it could also offer radar and observation support for flight control and guidance.

It is still unknown whether NATO warplanes will also be based at the Dubrovnik airport, but such a situation should not come as a big surprise, nor should a possible massive deployment there of helicopter forces, i.e., of the types of aircraft essential for any combat operations in Bosnia that are not found on aircraft carriers and other similar ships in the Adriatic Sea. The arrival of combat aircraft at the Dubrovnik airport would strengthen the eastern flank, especially with regard to the three enclaves on the Drina, of any operation to rescue UN forces during withdrawal. Special attention is being given to securing communications along the Neretva valley, which would be extremely important in anticipation of breaking open the Sarajevo corridor and linking it to the Tuzla basin by way of the Olovo-Kladanj road.

Cilipi is the southernmost Croatian airport and is well suited for operational coordination with the Divulje airport and heliport (at Split) and with the aircraft carriers usually stationed in the central Adriatic region, near Vis, Lastovo, and Mljet, where they are protected by radar shadows with respect to FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] military radar in Orjen and Rumija, i.e., the cape of Skocidjevojka at Petrovac.

Since early 1995, U.S. Schweitser RG-8 and Gnat-750 unpiloted spy aircraft have been stationed on the Croatian island of Brac (see MONITOR No. 232), but the fact that the skies over Yugoslav lands are being also frequented to an increasing extent is confirmed by a MONITOR source close to the military authorities in Podgorica. According to that source, the activities of the Bosnian forces on several fronts in Bosnia and of the Croatian forces in the southwest of that republic are being vigilantly monitored by the FRY military through its piloted and unpiloted gliders. Besides movements by those forces, also of particular importance are the massing of NATO forces in central Bosnia and the maneuvers currently under way in the Duvanjsko Polje region in western Herzegovina, our source stresses.

The radius of such flights, however, will be seriously threatened if the Dubrovnik airport becomes a constituent part of NATO operations in Bosnia. In that case, espionage activities for General Mladic's forces will also be curtailed.

On the other hand, NATO's arrival in Konavle is a completely new development in the smoldering crisis concerning Prevlaka and lends support to ambitions to return that cape to FRY military control through a blitz campaign. If one analyzes the last large-scale maneuvers by its navy on 15 February, training for landings in the Ostra hinterland (including Vitaljina and Molunat), then one realizes that such ambitions do still exist even though there have been certain shifts in the diplomatic process.

However, NATO's arrival in Dubrovnik could be the last signal/warning to those who figure that it is possible to achieve territorial gains through military action in Konavle. In that sense, things are several times more complicated than they were in 1991; indeed, even General Staff spokesman M. Lazanski wrote recently about the "stupid operation at Dubrovnik."

However, the matter is complicated by the statement made by Slobodan Milosevic on Saturday, in which he "expressed concern over the formation of the Rapid Reaction Force and warned of dangerous precedents," while in the latest issue of VOJSKA so-called Minister of Defense Pavle Bulatovic rejected the possibility of cooperation with NATO. Thus, the century-old anti-Western policy remains a permanent point of reference for the FRY leadership, and for now there is only a minimal chance of surprises, such as recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina's independence, which in practice would bring NATO right up to the Drina.

Parallel to this, U.S. support for the Croat and Bosnian command headquarters is growing each day, while acknowledgment of this will clearly be hard to find in the dry communiques and analyses concerning the "diplomatic process."

Operations in Bosnia, from the capture of the Kupres plateau to breakthroughs in the direction of the Una River, show that the situation on the ground is leading to a Serb military debacle, while the selection, manner, and character of the attacks by Bosnian-Croat forces could not be operationally arranged and synchronized without the involvement of U.S. military instructors. This means that even now the deficit of officers relative to the Serb side has been neutralized, while the forced

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breaches by officers of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and of the two Croat armed forces are more significant than the experience of "war from a distance" that the Serb officers have been practicing since the beginning of the fighting, relying on an excess of equipment and ammunition. Things are thus becoming deadly serious, and we have exceptionally strong military structures on the other sides, buttressed by powerful allies. The real melee in Bosnia and Croatia has only just begun and will involve atrocious reprisals and no mercy. In this context too, new war games concerning Prevlaka are possible, especially if the Serb artillery at Trebinje opens fire on Cilipi as a response to the NATO basing action, which is not out of the question, and is even easy to predict. What will be the reaction then? Light warfare will cease, and the solution will lie where it did at the outset, in a policy of not changing borders by force and the pursuit of a responsible national policy by Montenegro. The two assault squadrons and one reconnaissance squadron at the Podgorica airport (with outdated Orao, Galeb, and MiG-21 craft) would be a poor trump card in an encounter with NATO fighters (moreover, Momir Bulatovic is "not speaking to" the commander of the Golubovci base, Colonel Jovan Strugar, who in 1991 sent him the famous letter from Divulje, which was published in POBJEDA and to which Bulatovic responded).

In addition, parading around the wrecks of the FRY Navy will not impress anyone on the outside, especially not the Croats, whose one missile-equipped corvette, with its 12 RBS-15/17 sea-to-sea missiles, has a stronger volley than the entire FRY fleet!?

Finally, the one certain thing could also be the most tragic thing: In the event of an FRY military operation in Konavle and eastern Herzegovina, the combat would spill over into Montenegro as well....

Dubrovnik, four years later: Once again a challenge for the Montenegrins?

[Box, p 9]

Intelligence Work

In the opinion of our source close to the military leadership in Podgorica, the arrival of the U.S. officers in Dubrovnik was preceded by an intensive intelligence-operational analysis of the region conducted by staff of the CIA and DIA, and the presence of the main U.S. wiretapping service, the NSA, is also probable.

Our source also alleges that there have been indications of several landings of unpiloted UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] aircraft at Cilipi, which were used to collect data (it appears that these are FOX AT aircraft with a control station and catapult device, produced by the French military industry from CAC Systems), but such aircraft are no longer part of the UN forces.

Indeed, Dubrovnik has not had a military base since the mid-1960's, but the military presence has been maintained through military, especially naval, intelligence activities under the operational control of an independent intelligence detachment that otherwise worked (without success) on spreading the idea of a so-called Dubrovnik republic.

RSK Army Commander Sends Letter to UN's Janvier

LD2407183095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1733 GMT 24 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—Today, Lt. Col.-Gen. Mile Mrksic, commander of the Serb Krajina Army, sent a letter to General Bernard Janvier, commander of the UN peacekeepers for former Yugoslavia, asking the UN command to take measures and halt Croatian aggression on the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK]. "The announced aggression by Croatia against the RSK territory, aimed at assisting the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's 5th Corps, has compelled us to take additional measures in the sphere of defense of our republic," Mrksic says in the letter.

In the letter, Mrksic says that both sides have increased their military capacity, they possess rocket systems, air force, tanks, and artillery, which would result in huge casualties and destruction of urban areas on both sides in the case of a conflict.

Stressing that the RSK has taken seriously the Croatian announcement of aggression, Mrksic said that the Serb Krajina Army would retaliate against Croatian military targets in the case of aggression.

RSK's Mikelic on Right To Convene Sessions

AU2407170495 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jul 95 p 7

[Article by R.K.: "Mikelic: The RSK Government Is Saving the Integrity of Krajina"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Milan Martic, president of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], yesterday "ordered the Krajina Government" to begin a permanent session in Knin on 24 July until the Assembly elects a new government.

In a special statement for POLITIKA, RSK Prime Minister Borislav Mikelic said that there was no need for the permanent session in Knin.

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The one who has decided to replace the government at the time of the direct danger of war, immediately after the military fall of western Slavonia (and this was in fact done by Martic and Milan Babic), has no right to raise the question of responsibility of those who allegedly contributed to the malfunctioning of the executive authorities in the RSK. They should look for the culprits among themselves, Mikelic said.

He stresses that he is still legally prime minister and that the "government session will be held when I convene it."

"Milan Martic appears to have forgotten that more than two months have gone by since the Assembly session in Borovo Selo at which he insisted that a decision be made on urgent unification with the Serb Republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina], describing it as a matter of the hour. However, nothing has come of that 'love' with Pale.... I would also like to remind him that two months have gone by since the government failed to win a vote of confidence on precisely that issue, albeit unconstitutionally. A month and half has also gone by since the election of Milan Babic as prime minister designate, but even with Martic's involvement in it, there have been no results.... Regardless of all this," B. Mikelic says, the current government has been functioning under the existing conditions and has been strongly motivated to alleviate the tragic consequences of the Serb exodus from western Slavonia. Most ministers have been working, except the Department of Trade. Minister Bosnic, when the problems with goods and prices arose, completely flopped. He is not taking part in the work of the government, but is involved in politicking.

Mr. Mikelic stresses that, despite everything, the RSK has achieved certain results. The harvest is drawing to a close. The yield is expected to be 200,000 tons of wheat. Some 90,000 tons will be available for purchase. All this was done "without anyone's help or the participation of Martic's cabinet."

Salaries for the Army have also recently been secured, as the Army had not been paid for two months. Teachers, the police, and state officials will also be paid soon. One should also stress the efforts regarding the housing of refugees from eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem. "In brief, this government, regardless of having been 'replaced,' has done a lion's share of the work," Mikelic says.

"I have convened the next session for Tuesday, 25 July, in Beli Manastir. The main topics of discussion will again be harvest and refugees. Immediately after that, another session will be held in Knin, on 28 July, to discuss current problems in the RSK."

Mikelic takes the view that with his intervention, M. Martic has shown that the government, regardless of the destructive attitudes of the RSK president, has been working as a te[illegible] and represents an important factor of Krajina's integr[illegible]on, even though it has not received a vote of confidence. "This is indicated by Martic's panicking call for the sessions to be held in Knin," B. Mikelic says.

Krajina Assembly To Meet 27 Jul; Agenda Set

AU2507121095 Petrinja Srpski Radio Krajina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 24 Jul 95

[Report by Goran Sijan "of Srpski Radio Knin," including statements by Rajko Lezajic, chairman of the Krajina Serbs' Assembly; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Lezajic] On the basis of Article 74, Paragraph 4 of the Constitution of the Republic of Serb Krajina, I convene an extraordinary session of the Republic of Serb Krajina Assembly on 27 July, 1995, on Thursday in Topusko beginning at 1600 [1400 GMT].

[Sijan] Originally, the agenda was supposed to consist of three items. However, at the request of the Republic of Serb Krajina Army, deputies will also be discussing problems pertaining to the defense of the Republic of Serb Krajina, as well as personnel changes in the Serb Army.

[Lezajic] The session will first deal with the appointment of the new Republic of Serb Krajina government. The second agenda item was included at the request of the Republic of Serb Krajina Army and will focus on the situation and problems in defending the Republic of Serb Krajina as well as on personnel problems in the Republic of Serb Krajina Army. Third, we will hear the report of the State Commission for determining the cause of the fall of western Slavonia. Fourth, we will view the accommodation of western Slavonian refugees.

[Sijan] As for the first agenda item, the verification of the government, which will attract the attention of the Krajina public, Lezajic says:

[Lezajic] I must say that we have held additional talks and consultations in the eastern part of Krajina, with the intention of representing all political factors in the Republic of Serb Krajina parliament in the government of national unity.

[Sijan] The Republic of Serb Krajina Assembly chairman briefly commented on the latest report of the State Commission for determining the cause of the fall of western Slavonia, which, as you know, contains a list of Krajina military and political leaders who are allegedly responsible for the tragedy.

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[Lezajic] The report was submitted to me on 19 July at 1730 hours. Unfortunately, the report had been made public several days earlier. I do not know how the media got hold of it and whether all of it was made public. At any rate, this State Commission is first of all obliged to submit the report to the Republic of Serb Krajina Assembly, as the State Commission was set up by the Republic of Serb Krajina Assembly. The State Commission answers first of all to the Republic of Serb Krajina Assembly and only after the Assembly has viewed the report and decided what to do about it, only then can the report be passed on to the media.

[Sijan] At the end of his statement, Lezajic denied all rumors about alleged difference in opinion and the rift between the people in the eastern and western part of the Republic of Serb Krajina.

[Lezajic] There is no misunderstanding between the people in the eastern and the western part of Krajina. If there is something, it is nothing but skirmishing between certain individuals. I have been to the eastern part of Krajina, to Vukovar. I talked to both vice presidents, Mr. Bogunovic and Mr. Damjanovic, as well as to Mr. Dokmanovic, chairman of the Vukovar municipal assembly. I must emphasize that they all said that they wanted to become a part of the government of national unity and to represent the eastern part of Krajina fairly in the Republic of Serb Krajina government that is to be elected on 27 July in Topusko.

Krajina Official Discusses W. Slavonia Report

AU2507121695 Petrinja Srpski Radio Krajina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 24 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In reaction to the revealing of the contents of the report by the Republic of Serb Krajina State Commission on the cause of the fall of western Slavonia in some media, Slobodan Peric, member of the Commission and an Assembly deputy, made a statement for ISKRA.

Peric's statement focuses on the meeting of the State Commission held on 18 July in Vukovar, when it was agreed, after the Assembly session scheduled for Mirkovci on 12 July had not taken place but part of the report was nevertheless made public, that a copy of the report be immediately submitted to Republic of Serb Krajina President Milan Martic, Prime Minister Borislav Mikelic, Assembly Chairman Rajko Lezajic, Prime Minister-designate Milan Babic, and Lieutenant General Milan Mrksic, Republic of Serb Krajina Army commander. A copy of the report together with all the relevant documents was placed in a safe. At that meeting it was decided that the Commission would not meet until the next Assembly session and that members of the Commission would make no statements to the media before submitting the report to the Republic of Serb Krajina Assembly. Peric emphasized that, since the Assembly had not appointed the president of the Commission, nobody had the right to make statements on behalf of the Commission and he refused to give any information about the contents of the report. The report will become official only when accepted by the Republic of Serb Krajina Assembly. Only after it has been accepted will members of the Commission have a right to make statements for the media, Peric said.

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Andov Discusses Visit of FRG's Suessmuth

AU2507074495 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 1330 GMT 24 Jul 95

[Interview with Parliamentary Chairman Stojan Andov by an unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Andov] This is a continuation of relations between the Federal Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] and the Federal Republic of Germany. In this way we are actually creating a possibility for stronger relations in interparliamentary cooperation. The Federal Republic of Germany plays a constructive role with its policy toward Macedonia here in the Balkans, and we think that the understanding and support that this state gives to the Republic of Macedonia contributes to our stability and to the stability and peace in the entire region. We expect further efforts from Germany to help Macedonia take its place in all the European institutions and to create adequate relations with the European Union to overcome the present economic difficulties which, if continued, can cause other internal tensions. These meetings give the opportunity for an exchange of opinion on the general situation in the region and also on the mutual cooperation and future steps to be undertaken, and we particularly stress the cooperation between the two parliaments.

[Correspondent] The importance of Madame Rita Suessmuth's visit to our country is even greater because she will meet and talk with President Gligorov and Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski.

[Andov] Normally, she is a political personality of such a rank as to meet them, hear their opinions, and discuss her impressions and considerations that will certainly be of benefit for us.

[Correspondent] She will also have the opportunity to meet a group of our parliament members.

[Andov] As president of the German Bundestag coming to our country, she will receive an impression of the political views and trends in our parliament and hear representatives of some political parties on their views concerning our country's development, democracy, and cooperation with Germany.

[Correspondent] Madame Suessmuth is expected to give to the Macedonian Red Cross humanitarian aid for the people who suffered the floods in Negotino and Kavadarci, after which the two chairmen will have the first official meeting in the Macedonian parliament. Madame Rita Suessmuth will meet Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski tonight.

Ethnic Albanians Hurt Most by Passport Rules

95P20919A Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 7 Jul 95 p 2

[Article by I. Islami: "The New Border-Crossing System—Many Dissatisfied Citizens"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kumanovo, 6 July—The announcement from the Ministry of the Interior of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] that, as of 5 July 1995, passports would be necessary to cross the border between Macedonia and Yugoslavia [The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—FRY] was received with indignation and disgust by many citizens of Kumanovo. The topic of discussion behind the scenes and at various meetings from the morning on was the new system which was being put into effect for crossing the northern border of Macedonia.

There is no doubt that ethnic Albanian citizens are affected the most by this new decision since it is known that a large number of them have relatives in Preshevo, Bujanovc, Gjilane and other cities of Kosova. On the other hand, many of these citizens, especially those who have migrated from these places, do not have travel documents since a passport can be issued only the basis of a citizenship document and, for various reasons, sometimes banal ones, such as the case of the jobless, many people cannot get citizenship documents.

According to the latest information, there are currently 143,288 adults without regulated citizenship status in Macedonia, which means that many of them do not have passports. I am not implying that Kumanovo tops the list in regard to the number of citizens who do not have regulated citizenship status, although migration in the past has been quite heavy.

As we have been informed unofficially, the Serbs enacted the new system without any discussion, as has been the case on other occasions. As a result, yesterday and today, the Serbian border guards turned back about 200 Macedonian citizens who crossed the Macedonian border as they had done before, on the basis of identification cards alone. This happened at three international border-crossing points: Tabanovc, Sopot and Pelince and we cannot find out what the situation is at the local border between the villages of Llojan and Miratoc. We are supposing that there will also be difficulties there since the residents of the villages have long been demanding that the republic organs regulate their status, that is, give them a special permit like they do in the rest of the world. The failure to regulate their status is blamed on the fact that the two states have not recognized each other.

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In any event, the requirement for passports for citizens of Macedonia who, until yesterday, crossed the northern border on the basis of identification cards, will cause more anxiety and will result in even greater isolation after the barrier is set up. There will be no lack of reactions on the part of the citizens because many of them who have relatives across the border will have difficulty travelling, even for emergencies.

Commentary Views Administration Dismissals

AU2407184695 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 22 Jul 95 p 13

[Commentary by Zorica Darkovska: "Hunting Sinners"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Finally the battle against poor workers, bribery, corruption, and tolerance that contributed to chaos in some sectors of the state administration has started. The blow goes from bottom to top and (for now) we sense vice versa. It has not reached the top yet. The battle was pronounced by the prime minister (it is not known whether he had been previously warned that it is high time, although there is such speculation); he "scolded" his ministers to fix up their sectors or lose their positions. As confirmation of the resoluteness to fully accomplish the action, the decision came to replace six high officials. This should not be all. New replacements should be expected, particularly if we remember the figure of 150 replacements planned for this summer, of which extremely well-informed people in the government spoke. Dismissals of people from the highest ministerial positions were mentioned, which means that some of the ministers will also be "scrubbed" in the action. If we follow the logic of the first actions when, because of the sectors' poor functioning, according to the prime minister's explanation, the consequences were felt by the people who headed them, then the next phase might be at a higher level, and the people that are heading the ministries whose sectors malfunctioned might be dismissed for their responsibility by the same principle.

Investment and Dosage

Within the framework of the character of the entire action that is called a battle against crime, bribery, and corruption in the state administration, in the previous dismissals (recently there have been four more dismissals in the Defense Ministry), whether one likes it or not, these persons were labeled the most corrupt in the state. Regardless of the fact that these dismissals were followed by an extremely carefully exposed explanation that was repeated several times by the prime minister, it was not sufficient to satisfy the public.

However, at this moment, words like "unsatisfactory results in work" are the maximum that the government is ready to utter in connection with causes for the interventions. Once again, the means of certifying and distributing the information were found out, although it is well known that insufficient information can breed nothing but speculation. They say in the government that this is a subtle subject. You cannot dismiss someone and say that he is a thief, dishonest, corrupted, and so on. The worst you can say about him is that he does not fulfill his tasks in the best manner and that the sector he is heading or working in does not function the way it should. There is no other evidence, and it is a known fact that the act of corruption is not easy to disclose. This means that we can expect more pieces of information the moment the appropriate bodies succeed in finding evidence for the deeds.

Second Round...

On the other hand, it is also known what failures are apt to occur in the sectors from which the key persons have been dismissed, or what failures have already been registered. As a matter of fact, these persons were the directors of the Public Revenue Department and the Department for Property and Legal Relations, which are under the Ministry of Finance. They were deputy secretaries in the Foreign Ministry and the Ministry for Construction, as well as two head inspectors—for market and labor. This means that all these are services from which you can fill your pockets if you close your eyes to the law. These are the places where permission for imports, exports, reexports, construction, illegal construction, and locations is issued and, if necessary, will not be issued, or will be ambiguously interpreted.

These subjects have been very present among the broad public. The services mentioned, and not just them, have been a subject for discussion for a number of years, as something that has been heard of, seen, or experienced. What now happened in the six sectors is a confirmation of what the people have been talking about for a long time and something that they have been indicating. The continuation of the entire affair is anticipated with great impatience.

Nearly simultaneously with the "purge" among key personalities there arrived information that internal cleansing in some ministries has started and dismissals are mentioned at lower levels, too. In this context the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Construction, of Internal Affairs, of Labor and Social policy are being mentioned. They say that the ministers are doing the cleansing there, not the government. On the other hand, there are different versions of how the government's cleansing occurred. Although the unity of the entire cabinet in support of the action is stressed, it is said

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that allegedly some ministers complained they had not been informed about the dismissals in their sectors in advance and were caught unprepared at the session at which all this was discussed. Others claimed that every minister had known which of his clerks was going to be dismissed, and also that the government's final decision had practically postponed the dismissal of some officials whom the ministers had already decided to dismiss. They say that these people will have to wait for the next round.

Let It Not Stop

There certainly will be such, because it is impossible to solve the confusion with only six people or with low-scale hunting. The expectations are that this action will encompass all ministries, not only one person, and thus end. Is it not true that the government wanted to replace a great number of the present team in the Foreign Ministry in the sector in charge of economic relations; was not urbanism indicated as a field in which the failures are endless, although one should not neglect prior dismissals? This means that a more thorough cut is necessary. Where are the social and children's protections that are said to be infected with bribery and corruption, particularly the sector engaged in sending workers abroad, where even the price that they ask for each worker is known? The tariff is a public secret in health, too, in the economy, as well as wherever there is a direct contact between the administrator and the citizen that is applying for something.

It is true that the ministers who understood the prime minister with great seriousness, who were clearly threatened that they might be responsible for the failures, will start cleaning their own ranks to keep their positions. Only a few know whether a cleansing in the government itself will take place in the second phase. Nevertheless, if all that was publicly stated by the prime minister, and there is no return from this point, is in the aim of establishing a sound society, then the actors must be ready to face everything that such a painful, complicated, and uneasy activity can originate. The prime minister requested support for this action, particularly from the mass media. What he is requesting he can probably get from the broad public, but only if the public soon becomes sure that this was not pure cosmetics, a mask, or just a blow on the small fish, that it is not just plain demagogy.

Poll Shows Citizens' Reponse

AU2407183995 Skopje MIC in English 24 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] In the survey of the magazine PULS on the occasion of the Government initiative for the "purge" in its own system and administration, 67 percent of the surveyed citizens consider that the Government should bear the responsibility for tolerating the corruption in its own system till now, reports MAKPRESS.

In the telephone survey of PULS 33 percent of the inquired think that these measures of the Government are on time and they will prevent the irregularities in this field, while 50 percent gave a negative response.

Regarding the issue that the citizens who were encompassed in the survey are well informed about the new measures of Branko Crvenkovski's Government against the corruption and the mafia in the country, proves also the information that 83 percent of the inquired responded to this question positively, while only 17 percent didn't know about this Government initiative.

Party Congresses, Development of Democracy

95BA0262A Skopje VECER in Macedonian 13-14 May 95 pp 6-7

[Article by Sonja Kramarska: "Solo Races to the Party Throne"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The same personalities as before are left at the head of the parties that have held congresses so far, the SDSM [Social-Democratic Alliance of Macedonia], the DP [Democratic Party], and VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party of Macedonian National Unity]; while the sports maxim "A winning team is not changed" could be applied to the SDSM, the opposite would not be illogical for the two nonparliamentary parties.*

Three of the total of six parties that give their stamp to political life in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] held their congresses in December, April, and May. The leaders to date, Petar Gosev (DP), Ljupco Georgievski (VMRO-DPMNE), and Branko Crvenkovski (SDSM), were reelected as presidents at those congresses. The procedure went almost smoothly: Gosev, the only candidate, won the leadership position with 375 votes for and 15 invalid ballots; his counterparts, in an identical situation, adorned themselves with the highest party office—Crvenkovski unanimously, and Georgievski with 195 votes for, 11 against, and one abstention.

The assessments by the public, and even by reporters, after the procedure of the (re)election of the party leaders, mostly revolve around the view that "We are questioning you about democracy and pluralism," because every democratic procedure, at first glance, requires satisfying the criterion of a confrontation among several candidates. As a counterweight to this sort of consideration, however, the fact immediately arises that it was

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precisely under the one-party system that a great deal of attention was paid to the farcical attempt to have the appearance of different opinions. It is well known how much this contributed to democracy and pluralism.

Internal Party Democracy

Now, five years later, in spite of what happened before, the parties have not put much emphasis on internal party democracy. Just as an aside, let us also recall the fact that at the congresses that have been held, there was no legitimization or even acknowledgment of a single faction or wing with an opinion different from that of the party leadership. It is clear that they exist and that it would be dangerous if they did not exist, but we will probably have to wait for an answer as to why there was no public discussion of factionalism, and instead, as the congress sessions confirmed, room is being left for empty speculations. In the SDSM, for example, the stories were particularly intensified before the congress, while in contrast to it, in the VMRO-DPMNE the stories were in full swing at the very holding of this high-level party gathering. The epilogue is well known: The disunity between Branko Crvenkovski and Tito Petkovski was not demonstrated, nor did the alleged rivalry for the leadership position among Ljupco Georgievski, Ljubisa Georgievski, and Todor Petrov experience any sort of party institutionalization.

Instead, in strictly statutory protocol, the delegates, the guests, and later on the public followed, in all three cases, solo races to the party thrones of the largest political groups in the country. In Gosev's case, in the DP, in accordance with the statute, 30 delegates (400 attended the congress) have the right to nominate a candidate for president, and that same right is likewise given to the party's central committee. The second option was utilized. The new/old president won by secret ballot. Crvenkovski's election by the SDSM, however, was preceded by absolute support from all 33 municipal party organizations, and in this regard it is extremely interesting that no other name appeared, even casually. His reelection as leader was confirmed by acclamation. VMRO-DPMNE and Ljupco Georgievski won after 70 nominations by the delegates and municipal committees, of which 66 were "for" the leader at that time, and, significantly, without any opposing candidate being put forward. Actually, a possibility of that was given on the ballots for nominations, where in figures from one to three, two other candidates were suggested in addition to him.

"The Losing Team..."

It is not by chance that we are linking the leader's name to the party. It is more or less in this political symbiosis that the answer lies to the question of the continuity of the leaders. It is not easy to state and even less so to imagine the invisible thread that links one personality to one entity—politically. But... both the DP without Gosev, and the SDSM without Crvenkovski, and apparently most of all, VMRO-DPMNE without Georgievski would be, in a way, groups without an identity, because just as the leader draws energy from the party behind him, the party is ideologically, charismatically, and finally politically stimulated by the personality leading it. It is precisely for that reason that the leaderships of both the DP and VMRO-DPMNE were not left "headless," after the fiasco experienced in the elections, at the congress's confrontation with their party base, even though a little bit of logic says that "The losing team..."

After all, because we are learning from foreign experiences with democracy, let us also mention that the practice of "building up" leaders comes from there. That means that the party's leader is to be kept at the top as long as he is a good motor for driving the party machinery, regardless of external pressures and influences, such as, for example, the results of electoral tests.

That is how we have arrived at the continued inviolability of our leaders. Practice has shown that they have been kept on their thrones in spite of all the fluctuations in their parties, except of course for the SDSM, because it is quite natural for the "winning team" to stay. Perhaps that is why it is so obvious when there is a solo candidacy for presidential positions. If the unanimity of the nominations resulted from different positions regarding the names and personalities of the candidates, then it is good, but if it occurred through party discipline (which is more likely, in view of our past), then the parties will have to get a bad grade on the score of democracy and pluralism. To ell the truth, the bad grade has to come immediately, because just one glance at their statutes shows that they have also thoroughly worked out the option of having several candidates struggle for the top position in the party. That is proof that they needed this kind of solution in order to fill the gap that would have occurred, at the expense of democracy, if this were regulated any differently. We have not seen this option at work at the congresses this year, at least for the time being. Now the Socialist and Liberal Parties, whose congresses will be held this summer, are left with a chance to demonstrate a different position.

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Problems With Parliamentary Quorum

95BA0262B Skopje VECER in Macedonian 20-21 May 95 p 2

[Article by V. Velevska: "Quorum Problems"]

[FBIS Translated Text] What the past parliamentary composition was most often accused of—the inability to ensure a quorum—has begun to happen during this term as well. On several occasions so far, the Assembly Hall has lacked 61 deputies, the number that, according to the Constitution, is required for parliament's work. Fortunately, the second multiparty Assembly is not postponing meetings for days, but there have been times more and more often when it has had to wait for the empty places on the parliamentary benches to be filled.

It is interesting that the lack of a quorum is increasing along with the new deputies' parliamentary experience. The results of the voting now, in contrast to the initial days after the establishment of this parliament, show that there are a total of 60 to 70 deputies participating in the voting. The famous figure of 100-110 votes is gradually disappearing, and what is even more essential and better, it is also dispersing in a direction contrary to certain proposals by the executive branch. It is certain that disagreement with specific legal projects is precisely the reason for the absence of deputies from certain parties. We also had this tactic during the last term, however, although it is a fact that it is now being carried out in a far more intelligent manner.

It is another matter that the laws for which there is usually no quorum before the vote are among those that are not too important. They usually involve ratifications of treaties or decisions on which there is no debate at all.

According to the proposed rules of procedure—regarding which it is uncertain when they will be examined by the Assembly—more rigorous sanctions are provided for absent deputies. This proposal states that the president of the Assembly gives a warning to a deputy who misses three consecutive meetings without justification. A public warning is proposed for each subsequent unjustified absence. The strictest provision is taken from the Constitution, which states that a deputy can be deprived of his seat if he is absent from the Assembly without justification for more than six months. The abstention from parliament's work by the NDP [People's Democratic Party] and the "Tacists," if it lasts more than six months, could thus be legally sanctioned. The rest of the deputies will probably not face this kind of "choice" if they show up in the Assembly often enough. Regardless of these individual or party calculations, however, our impression is still that professional discipline among the deputies is declining—in contrast to party discipline.

Statistics on Disabled Pensioners

95BA0262D Skopje VECER in Macedonian 16 May 95 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Every Fourth Pensioner Disabled!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Of the total number (216,834) of pensioners in our country, 116,617 (53.8 percent) are recipients of old-age pensions, 45,472 (21 percent) of disability pensions, and 54,745 (25.2 percent) of family pensions. Obviously, there are a considerable number who do not have any possibility of enjoying for any long time the "fruits" of their (past) labor, and who reach their retirement days disabled. Their combined total amounts to almost half of the pensioned population, and among other things, reveals another aspect of the issue of pensions: the process of fatality among pensioners or among workers in the course of the process of labor, as well as workplace safety.

This sort of correlation is even more pronounced with respect to the category of recipients of the lowest pension amount. Last year they totaled 94,169 or 43.4 percent of the total pensioned population. Among them, 35,928 (38.2 percent) are recipients of family pensions, 32,240 (34.2 percent) of old-age pensions, and 26,001 (27.6 percent) of disability pensions. In this case only about one-third of the pensioners are "alive and well"; the others have died or are disabled. Naturally, death has to be expected as a natural factor in the "departure" of pensioners, after which their family members become the recipients of their pensions, but nevertheless, the picture of the fate of workers, if nothing more, is still "disfigured" by the fact of those, almost one-fourth of the pensioners are disabled when they reach their "peaceful days of retirement."

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Mazowiecki on Serb Human Rights Abuses

LD2407214195 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2100 GMT 24 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the special UN human rights commission envoy, has said that the Bosnian Serbs infringed human rights on a great scale when entering Srebrenica. The Polish politician has visited Tuzla, where almost 30,000 refugees expelled from Srebrenica are sheltering.

[Begin recording] [Mazowiecki] It is very difficult for me to establish the scale of the crimes that have been committed, but there is no doubt that an enormous number of crimes have occurred. I spoke to those who escaped through the woods; they spoke of awful things—the shooting of civilians, the cutting off of ears and noses, the torturing and killing of the wounded, and even the killing of children. Enormous violations of human rights were committed there.

[Unidentified correspondent] It is known that after the fall of Srebrenica several thousand Muslim refugees disappeared in unexplained circumstances. Have you received confirmation of the reports that they have been murdered by the Serbs?

[Mazowiecki] About 7,000 people from Srebrenica are missing, and their fate is unknown—probably some of them are dead. What I see as the most dramatic issue at present is the situation in Zepa and Bihac. Zepa has sort of been considered as lost, while in fact it is still defending itself. Here the tragedy of Srebrenica could be repeated, and this at the moment is the most urgent and the most important issue. [end recording]

Three Resign From Polish-Jewish Relations Council

LD2407210495 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1900 GMT 24 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Three people have resigned from the Presidential Council for Polish-Jewish Relations. The reason: delays in convening a meeting of the council following the anti-Semitic statement by Father Jankowski. This may possibly be the first step on the road to the total dissolution of the council.

[Correspondent] The council was the first presidential council, created in the days of Prime Minister Mazowiecki. [passage omitted]

The activities of the council are a front, behind which shameful and ignoble acts took place, reads a letter to the council chairman signed by Professor Krystyna Kersten, Professor Jerzy Tomaszewski, and POLITYKA journalist Marian Turski—the three who are resigning from the council. It is amazing that, when the whole of Poland talks about the anti-Semitic sermon by Father Jankowski, the Council for Polish-Jewish Relations is silent because nobody bothers to convene it.

The authors of this letter, which was sent out at the beginning of June, have not yet received a reply. Professor Andrzej Zakrzewski, the chairman of the council, thinks there is no problem.

[Begin Zakrzewski recording] Such a distinguished body, which has so many prominent scholars, cultural luminaries, and representatives of various religions as its members, such a body should not deal with just one event. [end recording]

[Correspondent] However, council members think that the council failed to convene before many other important events, among them the commemorations of the liberation of Auschwitz. [passage omitted]

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Iliescu Introduces 'Democratic' Education Law

AU2507073195 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 24 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Ion Iliescu promulgated the Law on Education today. Afterward, he held a news conference, where he said that he promulgated the aforementioned law, after having studied it carefully. He added that he did that without any reticence about the text of the law, which, as a matter of fact, was adopted by Parliament with a large majority of votes. This is one of our essential laws, an organic law covering the entire spectrum of organization and development of the educational process and blending the tradition of Romanian education with the innovation and current trends in world education, he said.

In his introductory statement, which lasted almost 30 minutes, President Iliescu outlined the main chapters and provisions of the law referring to the preuniversity education—elementary, middle school, and high school—and said that the generalization of high school education would have been an unrealistic measure, given the current possibilities and the need for integration of the young generation in the active life. The third stage, that is high school education, offers alternative solutions: theoretical high school, specialized schools, and vocational or apprentice schools. The university education has two component parts: Three-year and longer-term four-to-six year colleges. For the first time, there is the alternative of private education.

Regarding the education process for minorities, the president said that it relies on fundamentally democratic criteria. It proclaims and sanctions education in the mother tongue, integration in the national system of education, and the integration of young people in the active life, without discrimination. The discussions and objections raised by the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] were considered as unfounded. In this respect, the president mentioned the possibility of young people studying in their mother tongue as well as the obligation to study Romania's history and geography in the state's language, Romanian, both in middle school and high school; likewise, the pupils must pass admission exams to Romanian-language high schools in the Romanian language.

Among the main provisions of the Law on Education, President Iliescu mentioned the elimination of doctrinaire interests; a ban on politicizing school activities; and religious instruction, but banning religious proselytism. The president said that the law could be improved even more, but that any postponement of its promulgation would have been counterproductive, since it is a modern, democratic, and competitive normative act.

After this introductory statement, President Iliescu answered journalists' questions.

UDMR Protests Law

LD2507115495 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 25 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bela Marko, chairman of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], has sent a letter to the president of the European Parliament [Klaus Haensch] protesting the Romanian education law. Marko told Haensch he regrets that the Romanian leadership had ignored even the European Parliament's criticisms.

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Economics Ministers Agree on Krsko Nuclear Plant

AU2107170795 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 21 Jul 95

[Report on news conference by Economics Minister Maks Tajnikar and Croatian Economics Minister Nadan Vidosevic by Joze Skok in Ljubljana on 21 July—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] The news conference attracted great interest among the Croatian media. Both ministers voiced optimism about the progress of the talks. They harmonized the majority of issues that were the subjects of earlier negotiations between the ministers on Krsko nuclear power plant at the level of the energy departments. In the introduction, Minister Maks Tajnikar commented on the progress of the negotiations with Croatian Minister Vidosevic as follows:

[Tajnikar] It has transpired that we can reach a consensus on a 50:50 ownership scheme, that we can agree on the legal status of the nuclear power plant, a possibility of an alteration of the ownership relations within the nuclear power plant, and on the issue of supplies to the plant. We were also able to agree on the very important issue of nuclear waste, where we agreed that, for the duration of its operation and after its shutdown, both sides will take care of the nuclear waste, determine the location of the waste dump by the year 2002, and construct such a dump by the year 2007. We also agreed on some other details that had been coordinated earlier, namely, this coordination had been realized by Energy State Secretary Sovic and his Croatian counterpart Mr. Kramberger.

[Skok] In an interview for our radio station, Croatian Minister Nadan Vidosevic said that the Croatian side assessed the talks as tremendous work, as both sides had faced great problems that they had resolved gradually:

[Vidosevic, in Serbo-Croatian] I believe that we have completed a big task, regardless of how great the obstacles that we faced, we gradually clarified them nevertheless.

[Skok] He also voiced hope that, within a certain time framework, it will be possible to reach final solutions and then continue the work in both parliaments, where the agreements of both governments will receive especially close scrutiny. For that reason, Nadan Vidosevic believes that it would not pay to rush all issues, as it would be a shame if problems emerged later during the ratification of agreements that will be drafted through the great efforts of both sides, Slovenia and Croatia.

Government Plans To Control Privatization Audits

AU2507113895

[FBIS Editorial Report] Ljubljana MLADINA in Slovene in 18 July issue on pages 10 to 14 carries a report by Stanislav Kovac examining the efforts of the Agency for Payment Operations, Audit, and Supervision (APPNI) and its director Romana Logar to detect and prevent property transformation frauds, as well as the government's attempts to place this agency under its control.

Kovac draws attention to a secret meeting of the government coalition in April this year, at which the parties agreed to attempt to reorganize the APPNI just a month after the Constitutional Court had annulled several controversial provisions of the Law on APPNI that tried to strengthen the government's influence on the agency. The April document was formulated "in complete secrecy" and only presented to the deputies at the July extraordinary session on property transformation, Kovac writes.

Summing up the main provisions of the new proposal, the author writes: "The government proposes that what is currently one agency be divided into two agencies as of 1 January 1996. One of them would be named the Agency for Revision of Property Transformation of Companies and would be in charge of revising the property transformation. The other would be called the Agency for Payment Operations, Supervision, and Information and would perform all other agency duties, such as payment operations, tax control, statistics, and information. The essential characteristic of the newly formed Agency for Revision would be that it would be subordinated to the State Chamber, as it would be managed by a director and the agency council, which would both be appointed by the State Chamber (the council consisting of a president and six members). Unlike the Agency for Revision, the Agency for Payment Operations, Supervision, and Information would be subordinated to the government. Its director would be appointed by the government, which would also appoint the president of its council and three council members, while the remaining three council members would be appointed by the Bank of Slovenia."

Kovac says that the draft also envisages that "the director general, the deputy, and the management of the agency would continue to perform their duties until the expiry of their mandate," which means that the current APPNI Director Romana Logar "would be heading an agency that would not deal with the revision of the property transformation."

To illustrate the potential impact of this change, as well as the reasons for the government's zeal in this pursuit,

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the author sums up Logar's past record in unveiling privatization frauds, which prompted the ruling Liberal Democracy of Slovenia [LDS] "not to choose means of trying to oust her together with her team over the past year, with a support of the other two coalition partners, the United List of Social Democrats and the Christian Democrats, thus subjugating the last institution where the ruling coalition has not yet managed to assert its interests. Logar's cardinal sin is the audits of the social property, by which her inspectors have so far investigated the management of some 800 companies and established that a depletion of social property measured in billions has often been incurred by the financial machinations of until recently prominent members of various political and seemingly successful managers."

The author also stresses another proposal that the government launched at the July extraordinary session together with the above one. This proposal envisages measures that would accelerate the audit of companies owned by the Privatization Fund. "When the two are put together," Kovac writes, "it becomes clear why the ruling coalition has been preparing a draft law on APPNI's reorganization in great secrecy since April and why the government has suddenly picked up on the initiative to remove the key obstacles to the audit. If both government laws are passed, audits would be accelerated on the one hand; however, the authorities of the auditors would also grow. Simultaneously, by forming a special Agency for Revision of Property Transformation of Companies, the ruling coalition would finally assume control over the revision of property transformation of the most controversial enterprises that have either transferred their assets to Korze's fund [the Privatization Fund] or have companies abroad. This would create the grounds for the government to influence the auditors' findings. The ensuing situation would be that the revisions would seem to be running effortlessly, but in reality the ruling coalition would be keeping a watch over them. Whether this will really happen remains to be seen after the outcome of the July and later the September session of the State Chamber, when it will transpire whether the ruling coalition will persevere with the thus far covert scenario of breaking up the agency and subordinating the property transformation revisions."

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Federal

Government Accepts Final GATT Round Agreements

LD2407202395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1957 GMT 24 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 24 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government assessed at a session on Monday that the principles of international trade based on the agreements of the final act of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) Uruguay Round are acceptable to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav Government urged Yugoslavia's complete return to world economy and trade and normalization of cooperation with international financial organizations, primarily the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, said a statement by the Federal Secretariat of Information.

Yugoslavia's membership in the World Trade Organization (WTO), into which GATT was transformed, has doubtless advantages over bilateral regulation of trade relations, it was assessed at the government session which was chaired by Prime Minister Radoje Kontic.

Yugoslavia's admission to the World Trade Organization will require corresponding amendments of the domestic legislature. The government will immediately start work on this, without waiting for the lifting of the economic sanctions.

An analysis prepared by the Trade Ministry said this work covered two groups of tasks. The first are obligations inherent in certain agreements of the final act, which the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will accept without reservation by their very acceptance, without the possibility of negotiations.

The second group of tasks are those obligations which will be a subject of talks in the course of regulating Yugoslavia's status in the WTO, starting from the continuity of Yugoslavia's membership in the GATT.

The Federal government assessed that it was vital to establish the long-term goals of Yugoslavia's foreign trade policy beforehand, and charged the Ministry of Trade and other relevant ministries to continue making detailed analyses of those areas in which it was necessary to coordinate Yugoslav laws with WTO regulations.

It was decided at the session that Deputy Premier and Trade Minister Nikola Sainovic manage the government working body for coordinating measures and activities in realizing tasks which stem from the final act of the Uruguay Round which was adopted last year when GATT was transformed into the WTO.

Bank Governor Avramovic Views Monetary Problems

95BA0290B Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jun 95 pp 14-15

[Interview with Dragoslav Avramovic, governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, by V. Grlickov; place and date not given: "Monetary Credit Policy: Tired Symbol"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It appears that the tired symbol of firm monetary credit policy, as the still-topical Governor Dragoslav Avramovic calls himself today, has definitively decided to retire from that post, despite requests and, ccording to unofficial reports, pressure from the highest political circles urging him to stay. Even with his health problems, the pragmatic governor has not lost his mental vigor and his now-legendary optimism. This was evident in Milocer, where the governor was on a short vacation and where he took the opportunity to address enrollees at the Seminar on Loan Insurance and Interest Rates in Banking held by the European Center for Peace and Development. We asked him to give us several brief responses concerning the current situation in the credit-monetary sphere.

[Grlickov] Banks are raising interest rates to 8 to 10 percent monthly in hopes of stimulating dinar savings. This has been done by Yugoslav-Swiss Bank, Union Bank, Vojvodina Bank, and others. Bearing in mind that you have stuck to the assertion that interest rates on loans should not exceed 20 percent annually, what is your view of the latest moves by the banks?

[Avramovic] Such moves by the banks are not surprising, because the need to raise interest rates has been under discussion for some time now. The question is how long this can last and what the upper limit is to which interest rates can be raised. The rise in interest rates is clearly understandable, because they too must be used to try to attract savings, which are currently at a minimum at the banks. At the same time, solvency is at an exceptionally low level. But the decision in favor of higher interest rates is still not universal, since the major banks, with exceptions, continue to maintain low interest rates.

[Grlickov] The question of interest rates does remain open but, judging from what you said yesterday at the seminar in Milocer, that is not the key problem of economic and credit monetary policy.

[Avramovic] The central problem is the major shortage of foreign exchange in the country, but also the policy

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on interest rates, which should be stimulating dinar deposits, thus attempting to mitigate the disruption in the foreign exchange sector. At the same time, however, the problem of reducing government spending must also be solved.

These three problems must be solved in parallel. I am still optimistic, if these problems are approached with adequate wisdom, intelligence, and without a big uproar and panic.

[Grlickov] You have done a lot to stimulate various market mechanisms to attract capital. For example, attempts have been made to finance various things through the stock exchange.

[Avramovic] We are making efforts to more seriously attract real funds to finance the harvest through the commodity exchange. On the other hand, this problem must be solved in part by an easing of the sanctions and by allowing the export of wheat. At the same time, that could contribute to solving the harvest repurchase problem and to increasing the level of exports.

[Grlickov] Somehow, unstable trends always emerge while securing funds to finance the harvest.

[Avramovic] Last year, too, the main problems surrounding implementation of the Program began at that time. The crop failed then because we did not sell the large reserves of wheat in time and there were no real funds, which provoked a prime issue.

[Grlickov] Regarding exports, will the problems be alleviated simply by lifting the sanctions? The problem of ensuring stimulation remains.

[Avramovic] That is the key problem. Stimulating exports, securing the influx of funds, and the function of the foreign exchange market must be regarded as one indivisible goal. Also linked to this are trends in market interest rates, because one of the reasons that they are too high is the constant expectation that there will be changes in the exchange rate of the dinar.

[Grlickov] You have been criticized for not taking any concrete steps to give interest rates the role of balancing the supply and demand for money, of quickly transforming foreign exchange into dinars, and so on. It is said that you could have moved more quickly to adjust the discount rate.

[Avramovic] In a situation where attempts were being made to solve the problem of prices in a last-ditch effort, through appeals and demands by state institutions, we at the NBY [National Bank of Yugoslavia] did not change the discount rate because we could have been accused of acting to raise the costs of the economy. On the other hand, it was not logical to raise the discount rate at a time when the National Bank's net lending was minimal.

[Grlickov] What is your view of the danger of a reemergence of the old hyperinflationary mechanisms that made it possible to use cheap borrowing to achieve speculative earnings on large exchange rate differences?

[Avramovic] I still do not believe that that is possible through monetary-credit channels. As long as the money supply is under control and as long as deficit financing of the budget is marginal, it will not be possible to carry that out through these channels.

[Grlickov] Do you still contend that the budget is not being financed through deficit?

[Avramovic] It is, but by marginal amounts, through borrowing from banks.

[Grlickov] Has there been any pressure on the National Bank for prime issue?

[Avramovic] There has, but so far we have withstood it somehow. After all, the result of that would be insolvency. The main problem is not prime issue for the budgets, but rather something else. The main problem is budgets that are too big for present-day circumstances. Revenues and expenditures are on the rise, and it is very difficult to establish subsequent restrictions. Thus, the problem is that we have a budget balanced at an exceptionally high level of taxation, which causes major expenses and pressures on prices, i.e., on monetary policy.

[Grlickov] Your working group has proposed changes in the tax system. What is happening to that proposal?

[Avramovic] Changes are hard to accept when in practice there are three or four states in this region.

In any event, we have a situation of a high level of taxation and interest rates, which serves to slow down economic growth. After three years of living beyond our means, of high demands and appetites, we have entered a very unpleasant phase.

[Grlickov] Do you believe that the major shortage of foreign exchange is the cause of the frequent "jumps" on foreign exchange markets?

[Avramovic] I have my own theory about the causes of those "jumps." At our level of exports, our need for imports, and thus our "specific" internal movement of capital, we have the permanent phenomenon of a significantly higher demand for German marks. That is the fundamental problem.

[Grlickov] An easing of the foreign exchange problem should be expected after the lifting of the international

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sanctions. On the other, hand, there are also opposing views that the situation will be even worse because of new, massive foreign debt.

[Avramovic] It cannot be worse if exports are freed up (I have mentioned the problem of wheat exports): The textile industry gains a great deal from that, as well as the tool industry....

It is possible that there will be counterpressure after the sanctions are lifted because of the possible need to pay off our foreign debt, but I think that foreign creditors will show understanding for our problems and settle that problem in a mutually satisfactory way. One danger that could emerge after the sanctions is major pressure for imports, but if we coordinate our senses enough I think that we can resist that successfully.

[Grlickov] The latest announcement of companies and banks whose foreign accounts are frozen is linked to the lifting of the sanctions and the repayment of debt?

[Avramovic] I suspect that that is what this is. The accounts were frozen earlier: The Americans do that as soon as they realize that an account exists. In any event, I think that unblocking trade and financing will alleviate our position in the world and inside the country.

[Grlickov] What amount of foreign exchange reserves are you counting on after the sanctions are lifted?

[Avramovic] That depends in part on how the problem of the division of assets and succession is resolved among the former Yugoslav republics. It is logical that rights to a certain proportion of the foreign exchange reserves will be asserted.

[Grlickov] You have been criticized for not moving quickly to enter the second phase of realizing the Program, which involves the restructuring of production and ownership.

[Avramovic] I have always been against the chaotic destruction of state property, but I have had understanding for people who have sought privatization. We must first resolve the key question, which is how to ensure that someone will want to buy the big companies, such as 14 October, Zastava, and so on. In this regard, I too have been opposed to discrimination against any form of ownership, be it state, collective, or private. They have an interesting approach to this question right now in Montenegro.

Economy Under Inflationary Pressures Examined

95BA0290E Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jun 95 pp 19-20

[Article by Petar Djukic: "Statistics: Evolution of Super Dinar"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Although it was clear from the very beginning of implementation of the "Yugoslav economic miracle" that there were actually no conditions or economic-political guarantees for any real economic recovery and long-term stability that would guarantee the survival of the dinar in the original "super" edition, there was no lack of assurances that this was a completely new and different course of economic policy that would not permit (any) inflation. Nor would there be a black-market exchange rate, an equivalent rate, a resultant "erection of prices," speculation, artificial shortages, inflationary profits on loans, and everything else that has long since been adopted here as basic features of the system and as a way of life.

Even while an equivalent exchange rate in a sporadic form accompanied implementation of the Monetary Reconstruction Program essentially from the very outset, inflationary trends have been officially registered continuously since September 1994. Immediately after the suspension, albeit limited, of the internal convertibility of the dinar, there were new problems with artificial shortages, so-called currency blows, and other disruptions of prices, markets, and money.

The economic-political intervention that followed in November and December of last year in the form of significant restrictions in the area of the movement of the money supply, newly approved loans, personal consumption, and imports, with a big dose of administration and political intervention with regard to leveling and adjusting prices, succeeded primarily in preserving the elementary economic balance and preventing shocks of greater proportions. The basic goals of economic policy, defined back then, have remained in force to this day. They are usually presented in this order: stability for market prices and the dinar exchange rate, dynamic stimulation of production, and improvement of the standard of living.

As far as the first goal is concerned, its full realization was euphorically announced at the end of last year. Official statistical sources presented the fact that in 1994 (after the beginning of the program) "there was no inflation," on the basis of which numerous politicians concluded (overhastily) that in the monetary sense we are "one of the 15 most stable countries in the world." Although by January 1995 the growth rate of retail prices came to 12.4 percent while the cost of living

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rose by as much as 14.2 percent and the market value of the dinar fell to 57 percent of the German mark, the attitude of the chiefs of economic policy that "there are no plans for inflation" in 1995 remained in effect. Only recently did the prime minister of Serbia appear to (independently?) revise this "hard" stance somewhat, by saying that in 1995 "there will not be a repeat of the 1993 inflation." There is no reason not to believe him.

The situation in the economy and in life is clearly much better than a year and a half ago. Hyperinflation is not something that appears overnight, popping up like mushrooms after the rain. In that regard, there is no place for catastrophic prognoses about an impending collapse and rapid return to the well-known situation of great chaos and survival amid megainflation. Moreover, the restrictive monetary policy has a chance of maintaining the basic orientation of economic policy toward a balanced budget without serious or "visible" fiscal gaps. And as far as the current practice of "acknowledging" inflation during 1995 is concerned (a monthly average of around 6 percent), there is merit to looking at the evolution of monthly and annual inflation rates since the middle of last year. No matter how unreliable official statistics may be, their results show that retail prices rose 48 percent from October 1994 to May 1995 while the cost of living rose 55 percent. In addition, average monthly inflation during the unstable final quarter of last year was 3.7 percent, while from January through May of this year it rose to a level of 5.9 percent, which is enough to give us at the end of 1995, if conditions remain unchanged, an inflation rate of 102 percent.

The annual inflation rate is usually not announced to the public here, even though it is an important indicator of the condition of the economy and an obligation of the majority of countries in the world. Statistical facts based on official domestic evidence state that over the course of implementation of the program, annual inflation has never dropped below 15.8 percent, which was its official level in February 1995. From that moment on, it is on a stable, ascending course: 26.8 in March, 37.2 percent in April, and 44.6 percent in May. It is also worth noting that the annual level of inflation in December 1994 was as high as 7 billion percent because of January's hyperinflationary climax, and that January 1995/January 1994 inflation came to 2,433 percent, precisely as a result of the moment when prices were statistically recorded (21 January 1994, three days before the program began). Thus, regardless of the indisputable positive results and acceptable goals of the Monetary Reconstruction Program and the major official turnaround in the basic course of economic policy, we certainly have not had the opportunity to live with single-digit annual inflation, which could be regarded as acceptable in terms of restoring confidence in the currency, state, and banks. In addition, nothing has really been done in the area of compensating citizens for their old foreign exchange savings, nor are there any prospects, based on current conditions, for restoration of bank deposits in present-day dinars or remaining foreign exchange securities. In the meantime, of the loans accepted to reinvigorate production fewer than one-half have been repaid, at interest rates that signify a big inflationary gain for the borrowers and a significant loss for the lenders. The debtor economy is taking its toll on every current and future attempt at stabilization.

Clearly, what can be expected for the remainder of 1995 does not provide much cause for realistic optimism. The priority of stimulating lagging industrial production (down 10.1 percent in April compared to March) will again subject the state to well-known demands for lending. It is completely irrelevant whether the pressure is shifted to business banks, central banking, or even private banking. The effect could be a new burden of debt and an ever-higher percentage of unreturned loans and unrealized products. In the final analysis everything will lead to a new element of macroeconomic imbalance.

The next big trial for macroeconomic policy will come as early as this summer, through the repurchase of agricultural products, for which there are simply no real funds. Increased budget revenues on this basis would mean an unbearable increase in the already too high tax burden on the economy and private citizens. It is much more likely that there will be a certain breach in monetary policy, not only because of this, but also because of the prioritized repairs of the electric power system, just like what happened at the end of last year.

The problem, however, is that many of the assumptions of stability and circumstances that were in play during last year are absent this time around. The credibility of the "super dinar" (its short-term internal convertibility) has been used up, and there is no longer any support for minted gold and silver coins. Those who last year received the same amount of dinars for wheat after six months will not accept that this time around. And nothing can prevent them from taking all their available dinars to the street currency exchange market. It is not hard to imagine that the pressure on the foreign exchange rate will quickly spill over, not only to prices and costs, but also to increases in wages and pensions. These are all reasons why it is hard to suppose a purely linear extrapolation of the current inflationary trend of 100 percent. Instead, it is possible that over the course of 1995 prices will multiply and that the present-day dinar will drop to one-fourth of its initial super value.

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Serbia

Kozyrev Briefs Milosevic on London Ministerial

LD2407173095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1759 GMT 24 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic received Russian Foreign Affairs Minister Andrey Kozyrev in Belgrade today.

Kozyrev is at the head of a Russian delegation that also includes Vitaliy Churkin, Russian ambassador to the NATO, and Aleksandr Zotov, Russian president's special envoy.

Kozyrev is expected to brief Milosevic on the results of the expanded London Contact Group ministerial meeting and Russia's position in connection with the current crisis in Bosnia.

Both Discuss Bosnia, Relations

LD2407175395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1712 GMT 24 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic this evening received Russian Foreign Affairs Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who arrived in Belgrade accompanied by his aides.

In lengthy and cordial talks that passed in an atmosphere of full openness and mutual understanding, the two sides examined the current political situation in the region and the most important issues of interest for the further development of bilateral relations and cooperation between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Russia.

They particularly emphasized the importance of the efforts aimed at resolving the crisis on the territory of former Yugoslavia with political means.

With regard to the situation in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, both sides concluded that the escalation of armed conflicts must be halted and final cessation of all hostilities in this area be secured, which is the inevitable condition for reaching a political solution through negotiations.

It was stressed that the war in this region cannot be ended by military means and hence the international community, instead of issuing frequent military threats, should concentrate its efforts on the creation of the right political climate in which a stable peace, normal life, and equal protection of rights and interests of all warring sides can be achieved. In connection with this, Russia resolutely supports the policy of peace pursued by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and President Milosevic personally. It agrees with the view that lifting the sanctions against our country will be a key step, which the international community should take in order to secure a political solution of the entire Yugoslav crisis.

With its constructive attitude and consistent policy of peace, the FRY shows that the sanctions are unjustified and that they are in fact preventing a political solution of the crisis.

The talks also touched on the need to intensify cooperation between Serbia and Russia, and especially to stimulate numerous joint economic projects.

Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic and Gennadiy Shikin, the Russian ambassador in Belgrade, attended the talks.

Navy To Build More Bases in Montenegro

AU2407171095 Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jul 95 pp 18-20

[Article by Velizar Brajovic: "The Southern Barracks"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The beautiful cove of Valdanos, very near Ulcinj, has been earmarked for the construction of a naval base of the Serbian-Montenegrin federation's Navy. However, the Army's appetite has not been satisfied yet: it is looking for even more attractive locations in Montenegro, where it wants to build military facilities. It is known that on the list are some locations at Lustica; Krnjice by Skadar lake, which is a national park; and again at Mount Durmitor, also a national park.... At the same time it is not known what locations in Montenegro the Army, after many decades of use, would earmark for civilian purposes. All this necessarily poses a question: Does the Federal state intend to turn the southern Federal unit into a southern barracks?

It seems that the Montenegrin authorities, at the moment, are sanctioning any wish of the military top brass, as it is not publicly known what kind of arrangements are being made with the Army. Following last week's attempt by the opposition to initiate a debate in the Montenegrin Assembly about Valdanos, Miodrag Vukovic, one of the leaders of the ruling party, has briefly stated the attitude of Montenegrin Prime Minister Djukanovic's government and the responsible Assembly panel, that the Army and defense of the country are under the authority of the Federal state, making it clear that decisions on the purposes of certain locations in Montenegro will be made by the Federal authorities. As though it has been forgotten that in that same Assembly, chiefly because of the will of the Socialists who were in power even then, as well, the decision was made that

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the Montenegrin reservists should be withdrawn from the Banija front, as well as that two years ago Miodrag Burzan, then minister for spatial planning, rejected the Navy's request for allocation of Valdanos, as well as at Lustica and Krnjica by Skadar lake, and that none of the authorities withstood this decision. What has changed in the meantime?

Powder Keg

These days military facilities are being inventoried, from which gun and artillery detonations can be heard on a daily basis due to exercises. It has been established that in small Montenegro the Army has its facilities at over 200 locations. It has been inventoried to count all the facilities in, say, Meljine, as one unit. For the time being there are 40 such units along the coast, in the area of Podgorica there are 20, in the area of Niksic there are 10, and so forth. For military needs the airfields in Podgorica, Tivt, Niksic, and Berane are used. Montenegro makes up 6 percent of the joint state's population, while according to expert estimates the number of soldiers and accompanying military capacities make up 25 to 30 percent of the Federal military potential, and that percentage is constantly increasing. It is hard to obtain data on how much military hardware and various ammunition was brought to Montenegro from all over the former Yugoslav territory, but the southern republic is said to be a virtual powder keg, and even the authorities have urged the Army to dispose of some explosive equipment as far from densely populated areas as possible. At this year's Navy Day celebration in Kotor, President Momir Bulatovic paid tribute to the Army for "extraordinary ability, skill, resolve, and courage shown by the members of the Yugoslav People's Army at the beginning of the civil war in the former Yugoslavia, when they successfully fought to keep the bulk of the materiel and technical means, particularly that of the Navy, in the hands of those who decided to preserve the state unity of our former fatherland." President Bulatovic has also concluded that it was necessary to concentrate staff and machinery of the Navy in Boka Kotorska bay, which posed many problems, that have not been possible to resolve by now. However, Bulatovic has failed to mention how many warships the existing Navy has at its disposal. It is known, however, that Croats have managed to keep the most contemporary corvette missile, that now sails in the Croatian waters under the name "King Peter Kresimir IV," as well as 20 or so additional smaller vessels.

According to the data from 1991, the Navy then owned 11 submarines, 36 patrol boats, 14 modern minesweepers, 48 boats for landing operations, four frigates, 10 ancillary ships, and so forth. All this was sufficient to protect the coast that was 10 times as long as the Montenegrin coast. Now most of that potential has been stockpiled in Montenegro, and chiefly in Boka Kotorska bay, in the preservation of which huge means were previously invested (dislocation of industry, conveyance of sewage to the high seas and similar matters). [passage omitted]

Military Secret

It has been calculated that so far the Army has been using at least 40 kilometers of the coast, dispelling dreams of Montenegro's demilitarization, which should have created conditions for realizing development projects such as "Montenegro—An Ecological State," or "Duty Free Zone." At first it was believed that the construction of a naval base in Valdanos would bring about full demilitarization of Boka Kotorska. This was rumored even at the time of the implementation of the Vance-Owen Plan, when those who were better informed claimed that the local authorities would accept and fulfill any wish of the representatives of the international community regarding demilitarization, starting with Budva in Montenegro to Ston in Croatia, which would speed up the normalization of relations with Croatia, but also the settlement of the border problem in the region of Prevlaka. Optimism was also encouraged by Croatian officials' statements on possible plans to make a nudist camp or attractive summer resort out of Prevlaka. It has turned out, however, that in Boka Kotorska not only too much of the Navy's armament and potential has remained, but also that the Army is ready to build new facilities at Lustica, one of few preserved locations in Montenegro.

Valdanos, situated in the farthest south, is becoming a big construction site, which makes what President Bulatovic was saying quite true: "Successful defense from one as well as from the other side." What will happen with the middle is hard to say, yet information is leaking out from military circles that facilities could be started at one more location on the coast between Boka Kotorska and Valdanos in the south. Will there be any facilities in Krnjice by Skadar lake, where the Navy has expressed the desire to build a port, from which the border with Albania would be controlled? Will the fifth airfield be constructed at Zabljak, in addition to the existing four? At the moment nobody wants to speculate on answers to these questions, because, as some of the people we spoke to point out, that topic falls in the domain of military or state secrets. [passage omitted]

The opposition has concluded that Valdanos, with more than 30,000 century-old olive trees, is worth at least 350 million German marks, and that it would be too big a present to the Army from impoverished Montenegro. The authorities, on the other hand, reply that their

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decision is criticized by the Liberal Association, which is against the Federal state and its Army, as well as by the People's Party, which supports an ethnically pure Army, whereas the resistance to the construction of the naval base in Valdanos is considered to be undermining the state's defense power.

Regardless of different platforms and different attitudes toward the Army, the opposition will try to initiate a debate in the parliament, that may touch upon the attitude of the Federal state and its Army toward Montenegro and its interests as well. Still, public conviction is becoming more and more prevalent that the Constitution and the law are not flexible enough to allow any sort of solution without repercussion merely because it suits the authorities.

Srebrenica Ethnic Cleansing Done 'Decent Way'

AU2407181095 Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jul 95 pp 8-11

[Commentary by Milos Vasic: "The Fall of Srebrenica"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Srebrenica obviously could not have been defended, because neither the few troops that the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina had there, nor the battalion of Netherlands UNPROFOR soldiers defended it. Srebrenica was defended by the trustworthiness of the United Nations, the great powers and the "international community." That trustworthiness relied on two arguments: on Radovan Karadzic's and Ratko Mladic's good manners, and on the threat of the use of force. There is no need to discuss the first argument, for the argument of force is more interesting. Even Von Clausewitz warned in his time that a threat is only a shadow of a certain object: if the object does not exist, the threat is hollow. From the very beginning the threat of force by the United Nations and its ally, NATO, was just an unloaded gun used to intimidate the two men mentioned above. During the first Srebrenica crisis, in January 1993, when that eastern Bosnian township was declared a UN safe area, and during the Sarajevo crisis in February 1994, when the exclusion zones were established by a UN Security Council resolution, NATO's empty guns were very much feared by Karadzic and Mladic. Since then they have come to realize that the guns are empty, that is, that there is not enough readiness among the great powers to do anything much in that respect. Karadzic and Mladic have taken the initiative, because they are in a hurry and their time is running out. The time has come for the United Nations, NATO, and the great powers to become frightened, which they neatly did when the Bosnian Serbs took all those hostages. That the gun is empty Mladic realized long ago: The only thing the international community was able to do in a military sense was to carry out several feeble air strikes, in which NATO lost two aircraft (a Sea Harrier over Gorazde in spring 1994, and an F-16 recently), while the Army of the Serb Republic lost two or three tanks and some ammunition stocks at Jahorina creek. The comparative estimate of damage: NATO lost at least $35 million, which is simply the value of the aircraft (not to mention the costs of patrolling daily over Bosnia and aircraft rendered inoperative as a result of damage), which makes the lack of proportion in losses readily apparent. No wonder the Bosnian Serbs have drawn up their own balance sheet, which reads, to put it simply: "If those are their famous air strikes, then everything is all right, for we can always sustain that much of a loss to accomplish goals we care about." This is the arithmetic of war, in which everything has its price.

Raid

Following such arithmetic and having carefully analyzed the behavior of the great powers and their mutual relations, the Bosnian Serbs last week calmly and without a trace of anxiety entered the safe area of Srebrenica, dispersed or captured the Netherlands UNPROFOR soldiers stationed there, and surrounded the town by installing tanks on the surrounding hills and at key positions. The United Nations made several panicky noises, the UNHCR warned of the disastrous situation of thousands of refugees congesting the town, and tried to deliver aid (without success), whereas various statesmen expressed their concern and reemphasized that the Bosnian crisis could be resolved only in a peaceful way.

Before the war a little more than 37,000 people (72.5 percent Muslims and 25.2 percent Serbs) used to live on the territory of Srebrenica municipality. The town itself, a poor Bosnian borough, used to have 8,000 inhabitants. The bloody spring of 1992 and ethnic cleansing carried out on the left bank of the Drina forced a mass of over 30,000 people to take refuge in the Srebrenica enclave. The Serbian forces were not able to take Srebrenica at once. It is considered that the organizational ability of the enclave's defense commander, Naser Oric (former police officer in the RSUP [Republican Secretariat of Internal Affairs] of Serbia and former bodyguard of Slobodan Milosevic) largely contributed to the endurance of that area. [passage omitted]

In the UNHCR's estimate, the greatest number of civilians from the Srebrenica enclave, between 20,000 and 30,000, fled north, up to the base of the Netherlands battalion in Potocari, which is half way from Srebrenica to (Serb-controlled) Bratunac. One unit of the Army of the Serb Republic, led by General Mladic, entered Potocari on Wednesday 12 July. Everything was done peacefully and in civilized fashion: The soldiers checked

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out whether there were soldiers of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina among the refugees, and General Mladic addressed the refugees, advising them that it would be best for them to get on the buses and trucks he had previously brought in, and leave for the nearest front line with the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The next day, Thursday, 13 July, some 14,000 refugees had already reached Kladanj, on the other side of the front line. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Government lodged a severe protest because of the new wave of ethnic cleansing, and even threatened to refuse to take in new refugees, although it is not clear how that could possibly have been done. Mladic's troops singled out all men over the age of 16, and took them to Bratunac, to check whether there were war criminals among them, as was said. On each of the 40 trucks loaded with refugees there was a Netherlands soldier, so he could later confirm that everything was done correctly. General Mladic, in any case, threatened that he would shell the refugees if NATO aircraft by any chance happened to attack his forces.

Then Karadzic stated on 12 July that Srebrenica was their land, and that any withdrawal was out of question. He again referred to western Slavonia, without mentioning, however, why he did not help it. He also pointed out that there had not been any use of air strikes. This was his answer to the UN Security Council resolution requiring the Serb forces to withdraw from Srebrenica, as well as to similar demands from some western heads of state. [passage omitted]

Zepa and Further

What is left? Zepa and Gorazde are left, for Tuzla and Sarajevo are too well defended, whereas Bihac is a hard nut to crack as well. Zepa was already pounded by artillery on Thursday 13 July, while the Serb side says it will leave Zepa alone if its inhabitants are disarmed and evacuated to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Republic. Zepa is a troublespot: access is through a narrow and deep gorge that is easily defended and where the Bosnian defenders already crushed the Serb forces on one occasion in 1992. People say that even the Germans did not enter Zepa in World War II: There was no need because through Zepa one does not get anywhere.

The Serb cleansing of eastern Bosnia in 1992 and 1993 forced some 28,000 to 30,000 people to take refuge in Zepa, but now it is considered that the number of refugees has considerably diminished. From the mainly military point of view, the taking of Zepa could cost more than the town itself is worth, but rational viewpoints have always somewhat infrequent. The goal of the Bosnian Serbs, according to some reports, is to thoroughly cleanse the entire eastern Bosnia of non-Serbs, and to turn the Drina River into a "backbone of Serbianhood," rather than a border.

Gorazde is a different case: that industrial town on the Drina is very important to both the Bosnian and Serbian sides, for two reasons. First, it is too close to Sarajevo, and it controls communications in the Drina valley. Second, there is the Pobjeda plant, one of the key capacities of the military industry (it accounts for 100 percent of the production of detonators of all kinds, as well as of certain explosives, and it is indispensable). To take Gorazde while leaving the Pobjeda plant intact is almost completely impossible: The factory is dug into the hill, mined, and will never be relinquished.

The initiative is now in the hands of Karadzic and Mladic. If they succeed in ethnically cleansing the area of Srebrenica without victims and scandals, which they are obviously trying to achieve, they will score a strong point in the eyes of the international community: They have finally learned to do it in a decent way.

The alternative to such an attitude is difficult, costly, and hazardous, that is, any attempt to implement the existing UN resolutions, at least to a degree, if not literally, will mean a war. Mladic is encouraged, while Karadzic has been very much in need of any victory, even of such a poor one as the one in Srebrenica, at a time when Milosevic is promising peace in the Balkans within six months' time (which means that he is promising the end of Karadzic himself). The United Nations and NATO together, and the great powers, in addition, separately, will have to redefine the strategy in the Balkans. The time has come for them to define the political goal, or to go home barefooted and in underwear.

Montenegro

Police 'Maltreat' Kosovar Albanians in Ulqin

AU2107201295 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 19 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Around 0830 on the evening of 16 July, a group of Kosovar Albanians, who were strolling in the Ulqin boulevard, were halted by six Montenegrin policemen, had their identity checked, and eventually sent to the local police station, [Democratic League of Kosovo] LDK sources from Rahovec [Orahovac] said, quoting Naser Dula, a singer from Rahovec, who was among those targeted.

Mr. Dula said Milaim Gashi from Hatmaxhe village of Prizren, he himself, and a group of Kosova Albanians were maltreated physically and psychologically by the Montenegrin police, who were angry to hear that the Albanians had gone there for holidays. "You should be in Albania, and not here," Mr. Dula quoted the

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policemen as saying. The police were reportedly angry, too, over the fact that the Albanians were travelling with private-owned buses, and not state-run ones.

Mr. Naser Dula said in the evening of 16 July there were more than 40 Albanians from Kosovo and The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM] who, as he said, were maltreated till the morning, being stricken with fists, kicked but also hit with truncheons, rifles, etc.

As reported, the following day this group of Albanians was sent to a place some 4 km away from Ulqin and forced to dig a ditch from 7 a.m. through 2 p.m. The young Albanians who could not be equipped with a spade were reportedly forced to dig using their bare hands! "At 1400 hrs, some of the young people were released, six of them were taken to the Ulqin hospital, whereas the fate of the rest remains unclear," Naser Dula told LDK Commission of Rahovec. Ulqin is a famous overwhelmingly Albanian-inhabited tourist resource along the Montenegrin coast.

Kosovo

Rugova: 'Better Signals' Expected From Milosevic

AU2107204895 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 21 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kosovo has had the attention of diplomatic and state circles in the United States and European countries this week, said President of the Republic of Kosovo Dr. Ibrahim Rugova in a press conference in Prishtina [Pristina] today. He hailed the "constructive role of the United States and President Bill Clinton" on the urgency of preventing the ongoing conflict southward, as well as President Clinton's "cautious position towards the crisis in the region."

President Rugova expressed his appreciation for the visits to Kosovo these days of (Belgrade-based) diplomatic representatives of the United States, France, Great Britain, Sweden, and Austria. He spoke with appreciation for the visit to Kosovo of the Vatican-based "Saint Egidio" Association representatives, Monsignor Vincenzo Paglia, and Professor Roberto Morozzo della Rocca. "This is evidence to the European-American attention and concern towards Kosovo, but also Kosovo's affirmation and Europeanization," Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said.

President Rugova called on the Contact Group, which is meeting today in London, to "address the Kosovo issue and take the political will of the people of Kosovo into consideration." President of the Republic of Kosovo stressed that the Trepca mining complex and other natural resources of Kosovo are a property of the people of Kosovo and it is "the people and its legitimately and democratically elected leadership" who are entitled to make decisions about them. "An independent, neutral, and integral Kosovo, constituting the will of the people, is in the national interest of the Albanians, but also in the Serbian national interest," Kosovo president pointed out, calling on the people of Serbia, the local Kosovo Serbs, and the Serbian intelligentsia to promote this kind of thinking.

President Rugova dwelt on the Serbian continued repressive practices in Kosovo, citing reports of widespread Serbian police violence against Albanian activists, mostly LDK [Democratic League of Kosova] people, and ordinary citizens alike. He denounced the draconian sentences issued to 72 former Kosovo Albanian policemen, who were convicted by the Serbian Court to 230.5 years in prison in a staged political trial, and called for the release of all political prisoners, including Ukshin Hoti, who is a university teacher. President of the Republic of Kosovo pressed for a cessation of repression in Kosovo and an international protection for the country.

Asked by a Belgrade-based B-92 radio correspondent to comment on yesterday's trip to Kosovo of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and, in this context, if there were any indications about the start of a dialogue between the Albanian and Serbian sides, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said there were no "new accents in Milosevic's speech" yesterday in Mitrovica. The mentioning of tolerance by Milosevic "is but part of his old-fashioned political jargon," President Rugova said, noting that better signals were expected from the Serbian President Milosevic. "The international community and the Albanian side have been working towards ensuring a dialogue (on the Kosovo issue), but the Serbian side has not given any positive sign," President Rugova of Kosovo said.

Dr. Ibrahim Rugova declined to comment on Slobodan Milosevic's remarks uttered yesterday in Mitrovica about the alleged "terrorizing" of the Albanians by the "Albanian separatist movement's" leadership, Milosevic apparently referring to the Kosovo leadership's policy embodied in the strategy of nonviolence and peaceful resistance advocated by President Rugova himself. However, asked by a Belgrade-based Voice of America (VOA) correspondent to comment on other remarks by Serbian President, Kosovo President said: "The Albanians have been kicked out of their jobs (in the public sector in Kosovo). Trepca alone used to employ some 22,000 employees, and out them you might have some Albanians who have retained their jobs, but one cannot speak about the restoration of jobs to the Albanians." Some 150,000 Albanians have been kicked out of their jobs in the past few years, from unskilled workers to university teachers, President Rugova recalled, adding

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that through a well-organized welfare system "we have managed to provide a livelihood for everybody, and this is a success of our peaceful resistance." "We terrorize nobody, and this is a commonplace fact. We are a peaceful political movement. Our resistance and sacrifices have been appreciated and acknowledged," President Rugova said, adding: "Therefore, the people of Kosovo has earned universal respect, and this is owing to our nonviolent policy."

Asked to comment on what would a "just peace" (Milosevic's phrase in yesterday speech in Mitrovica) mean, President Rugova of Kosovo said: "A just peace for Kosovo is an independent and neutral Kosovo. This would safeguard the rights and interests of the Serbs in Kosovo. Kosovo will be an open state, with a free market economy and a democratic system. This would be a contribution to Europe and the accommodation of the Albanians in the Balkans, but I would say an accommodation of the Serbs, too."

Kosovo President went on to say that he has been pressing for a temporary civil international administration in Kosovo, so as to bring about a peaceful and negotiated settlement to the Kosovo issue, which would entail demilitarization of the country, a smooth transfer of power and institutionalization of equality for all in Kosovo, "equality in the democratic sense of the word, and not the communist one," President of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova ended.

LDK's Agani: Milosevic Misrepresented Situation

AU2507083795 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jul 95 p 11

[BETA report: "Milosevic Was Not Speaking to Albanians"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—Fehmi Agani, vice president of the Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK), has said that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic's visit to Kosovo was received "quite coolly" by Albanians. There were no Albanians among those who escorted Milosevic, nor among those who welcomed him, and "in fact, he did not say anything to the Albanians," Agani said.

Agani described Milosevic's visit to Trepca as a "kind of political marketing, similar to the visit to an oil field in Vojvodina." Since the "combine is not in fact working, the situation in Trepca was presented falsely." The claim that some 1,200 Albanians are employed in Trepca, "which is incorrect," drew an adverse reaction, and especially the conclusion that should be drawn from it, namely that the "Albanians are not giving their loyalty to the separatist movement and leadership, which have been leading them into evil ways, and that they have become attached to Serbia," Agani said. Even if the fact that 1,200 Albanians work in Trepca is correct, "this does not say anything about their views on Serbia, or Rugova, or the Albanian leadership in Kosovo, because people can simply be forced to work in imposed and bad conditions in order to survive," the vice president of the strongest political organization of Albanians in Kosovo said.

According to Agani, Milosevic's visit also had "negative reverberations" because of the "clear tendency to present the normalization of the situation in Kosovo as the integration of Kosovo and Albanian society into Serbia." "Milosevic spoke about equality. This, however, must find its expression in institutions. At the same time he spoke about the south of Serbia, even more about the south of Serbia than about Kosovo," Agani said. The "few words and statements about equality did not in fact have any impact at all," Agani added.

Milosevic also said that there should not be any cruelty. Yet a few days earlier, a group of former policemen from Pristina was sentenced to 230 years in prison, Agani said, adding: "If this cruelty is committed by the state headed by Milosevic, who do these words about cruelty refer to."

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